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ABSTRACT

Sixteen papers are presented. Topics covered include language teaching, discourse analysis, code switching, phonetics, language and cultural identity, and descriptive and comparative studies. All presenters were from the Asia-Pacific area of the world. Papers include: "The Baba Malay Lexicon: Hokkien Loanwords in Baba Malay" (Anne Pakir); "Pronouns in Japanese: Their Functions and Meaning" (Yasukata Yano); "Code Switching and Code Mixing as a Communicative Strategy in Multilingual Discourse" (Mary W. J. Tay); "Teaching English as a Foreign Language in India: A Socio-Functional View" (Shivendra K. Verma); "Language Education and Literary Creativity in English: a Tale of Two Cities" (Agnes Shun-Ling Lam); "A Study of Scientific Palatography: A Comparison of English and Japanese Palatal Consonants by Dynamic Electropalatography" (Tsutomu Oyabu, Richard L. Dusek, Mitsuaki Yoshinaga, and Sadahiko Ikeura); "A Study in the Adequacy of Data for Strategy Analyses in Spoken Discourse" (E. Berendt and H. Takahashi); "The Use of Aspect in Papua New Guinea English" (Anne-Marie Smith); "Language Attitudes and the Social Order in Hong Kong after 1997" (Gail Schaefer Fu and Pui-to Lu); "A Proposed Descriptive Framework for the Pragmatic Meanings of the Particle "la" in Colloquial Singaporean English" (Loke Kit-Ker and Johna Low Mei-Yin); "Working for an English Syllabus for Senior English Majors in China's Tertiary Institutions" (Hu Zhuanglin); "Interpretation of Anaphora in English and Japanese in Sentences with Prepositional Phrases" (Shuzo Yamanaka); "On Japanese Onomatopoeia: A Functional Approach" (Hisao Kakehi); "English-Chinese Code Switching of Primary School Children in Singapore" (Kay Cheng Soh); "A Comparative Discourse Analysis of English and Japanese" (Makoto Oshima); and "On the Acquisitional Strategies of Complex Sentence Formation: Examples from Japanese and English Speaking Children" (Katsutoshi Ito). (Each chapter contains references.) (NAV)

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Applied Linguistics Association of Australia

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University of Wollongong

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FOREWORD

From 16-21 August 1987, the Applied Linguistics Association of Australia hosted AILA's 8th World Congress of Applied Linguistics at the University of Sydney. It was the first time that an AILA World Congress had been held in the southern hemisphere and provided a unique opportunity for ALAA to promote research and co-operation in Applied Linguistics in the Asian-Pacific region.

This volume of Occasional Papers comprises 16 papers which were presented at the Congress. The unifying features are that all are the product of research in Applied Linguistics, they were all read at the AILA Congress, and all the authors are from Universities or similar institutions in the Asian-Pacific region. The true richness of the collection, however, lies in its diversity. Topics covered include language teaching, discourse analysis, code switching, phonetics, language and cultural identity, and descriptive and comparative studies. The authors come from Singapore, India, Japan, Papua New Guinea, Hong Kong and the People's Republic of China.

This set of papers provides applied linguists in Australia with a unique opportunity to acquaint themselves with the issues, some quite familiar, others less so, which preoccupy their colleagues in the immensely rich linguistic neighbourhood of Asia and the Pacific, to become aware of different perspectives on problems of common concern, and to appreciate the pioneering nature of much of the work.

In publishing this collection of research papers the Applied Linguistics Association of Australia is affirming its role of providing a forum for fruitful exchange between scholars in all parts of the Asian-Pacific region and sees this undertaking as a first step in the development of a closer network of communication between applied linguists in our region.

THE BABA MALAY LEXICON: HOKKIEN LOANWORDS IN BABA MALAY

Anne Pakir
National University of Singapore

INTRODUCTION

Baba Malay (BM) is spoken by the Peranakan Chinese or Baba Chinese who until recent times formed a strong, culturally identifiable group in Malacca and Singapore. This unique community of people (the majority of whom are Hokkiens) are descended from the first Chinese immigrants to the Malay peninsula. Today there are about 5,000 speakers of BM in Malacca and another 5,000 (approximately) in Singapore.

Generally believed to have arisen from Bazaar Malay, BM shows evidence of numerous Hokkien (H) loans in its subsequent vocabulary expansion. This paper investigates the lexical links between BM and H and attempts to give an explanation of H loans in BM in terms of the nature and extent of comparatively recent H influence.

The data on which this paper is based were gathered at the Katong Antique House over a period of three months in the summer of 1984. Katong is the district in Singapore where a substantial number of Baba Malay speakers can still be found.

An assumption which has often been made about BM and often been reported on as a fact is that its lexicon has many Chinese, mainly H, borrowings. BM has been described either as a "creole developed from Low Malay with many Chinese borrowings". (Grimes 1974:289; 1984:413) or as a Malay dialect whose distinctive feature is "the use of many Chinese loanwords"(Tan,C. B. 1979:152).

The fact of the great number and categories of other foreign loanwords in M has often been disregarded in the context of describing BM as having many H lexical borrowings. Consequently, emphasis is given to this fact early in the paper so to as provide the proper perspective for this study of a restricted aspect of BM lexicon.

From the data, it is confirmed that there are numerous H loans in BM but it is also pointed out that some of the H loans are present in other Malay (M) dialects, suggesting the possibility that some H words in BM might be part of the M component.

In the next section it is confirmed that the extent and character of H borrowings in BM is clearly delimited to certain semantic and cultural domains as has been reported by past and contemporary observers of the language. One

semantic area which turned up in the examination of common H loans is value judgment terms and words of emotive import, a categorization which has not been studied before.

BM links to H are obviously discernible in the simple loanwords, calques, and hybridized formations. Collectively, these show that of all the links to H (phonological, lexical and syntactic) the lexical ones are the strongest. However, what makes BM distinctive is the way the language has used indigenous M forms to express H content (in the calques), or used H forms in the hybrid formations. It is not the fact of borrowing H elements that make BM distinctive but the way in which a Malay dialect such as BM has used foreign (especially H) borrowings. The M order of head-attribute is followed in all the hybridized forms, showing evidence of how BM is actually a M dialect which has not really felt too strong an H impact.

The final section gives the summary and conclusion to his paper.

FOREIGN LOANWORDS IN MALAY

In discussing M and H components in BM, I do so without prejudice to the question of whether the M component derives from an ancestor or sisters.

Before attempting to distinguish these components it is interesting to consider loanwords from various sources that are found in both M and BM. Many of these words must have entered M quite early and surely came into BM as part of its M component.

Winstedt (1927) notes the existence of several foreign borrowings in M: Sanskrit, Arabic, Persian, Hindustani, Tamil, Portuguese, Dutch and Chinese. Some of the examples of the borrowings from the many languages are not used in BM although several of them are. He notes that Chinese loanwords are rare and apply to Chinese things (1927:24), and gives six examples only.

According to Winstedt, the oldest foreign loanwords "in Indonesian languages" (including M) are Sanskirt (1927:22). His examples show many borrowings for religious, moral and intellectual ideas as well as words for some astronomical, mathematical and botanical terms. The borrowings also include a court vocabulary and "a large number of everyday words" (1927:22-23). Several of the examples are used in BM: *dosa* 'sin', *bahasa* 'language', *bangsa* 'race', *biasa* 'accustomed', *jiwa* 'life', *mangga* 'mango', *mutiara* 'pearl', *pala* 'nutmeg', *puteri* 'princess', *saksi* 'witness' and *semua* 'all'. A recent researcher, M.A.J. Beg, who has published three works on loanwords in M, estimates that there are no more than 200 Sanskrit borrowings in current usage in Bahasa Malaysia although he cites Za'ba's (1965) list of 388 Sanskrit loanwords in M (Beg 1981:14). Beg also

notes that Wilkinson has no less than 200 Sanskrit loanwords in his Malay-English dictionary (1981:29).

On the list of Arabic loanwords are items dealing with the sphere of religion and law but some have become so common in conversation that they are usually considered M by adoption, e.g. *?akal* 'ingenuity', *?adat* 'custom, and *dunia* 'world' (Winstedt 1927:23). These are also words found in BM.

According to the account given by Beg, a conservative estimate of the number of Arabic loanwords is about 1,000 (Beg 1979:78). The table of the number of Arabic loanwords in various vocabularies and dictionaries discussed by Beg includes Wilkinson's (1961 revised edition) *An Abridged Malay-English Dictionary* (892 Arabic loans) and Winstedt's (1964) *A Practical Modern Malay-English Dictionary* (also 892 Arabic loans), although more recent dictionaries like Kadir's (1975) Kamus has 1125 Arabic loan-words listed (Beg 1979:81).

Some Persian words given by Winstedt include the following: *jam* 'clock', *kahwin* 'marry', and *kenduri* 'feast', which are also BM words. Za'aba (1965:271) estimates that there are no more than 70 Persian loanwords in M (as cited by Beg 1979:77). Beg himself believes that there are 100 or so Persian loanwords in M (1982:14) but see his table of Persian loanwords in M (1982:35) where Wilkinson is reported to have enlisted 140 Persian words in his Malay-English dictionary.

Hindustani words include *kanji* 'rice-gruel', *churi* 'steal', *roti* 'bread' and *chuka* 'vinegar' (Winstedt 1927:23), words also found in BM speech.

Of the 'established' Tamil loanwords (Winstedt 1927:23) which also occur in BM vocabulary are *kapal* 'steamer', *ketumbar* 'coriander', *kolam* 'pond', and *chandu* 'prepared opium'. Hamilton (1919) has noted only 18 Tamil loanwords in M although Za'ba (1965) has 53 on his list (as cited by Beg 1981:11).

Winstedt's list of Portuguese loanwords in M (1927:24) has examples of words which are also used in BM: *bangku* 'bench', *bola* 'ball', *kebaya* 'gown', *paderi* 'priest', *renda* 'lace', and *tuala* 'towel'.

The commonest Dutch loanwords in M are the following which are also part of BM vocabulary: *duit* 'cent', *tong* 'tub', and *senapang* 'rifle'.

Taking all of the above reported facts and figures (where available) at face value, that is, not questioning the assumptions made or the methods used to determine the loanwords in M, we see that M (including BM) has been a recipient language for many lexical items from other languages. Today, of course, there are also a substantial number of English loanwords in M (especially BM). Our interest in this section has been to take into consideration the fact that many foreign

loanwords do exist in Malay. This consideration will have a bearing on our conclusions about Chinese borrowings in BM.

H LOANWORDS IN BM

H loanwords in BM can be seen in two distinct perspectives: within the context of the greater assimilation to M on the one hand and within the context of the recent re-acculturation of the Babas on the other.

The M component in some of the BM H borrowings

The presence of H loans in other M dialects suggests the possibility that H words in BM might be part of the M component. The implication, then, is that BM lexical ties to M might be stronger than are initially realized using the very evidence of some H borrowings in BM. In the data, there are several H words which are also use din other M:

tocang	a pig-tail, a queue
loteng	upstairs
locheng	bell or gong
ceki	a popular Chinese card game
capjiki	a lottery of twelve numbers
popia	Chinese spring rolls
ota?-ota?	grilled fish meat wrapped in leaves
kuaci	dried melon seeds
mihun	rice vermicelli
mi	noodles
kana	Chinese olive
kongsi	company or firm, to share
koyok	Chinese medicinal plaster
capcai	mixed vegetable soup (Bahasa Indonesia)
kucai	leeks
lihai	cruel; serious; sharp (Bahasa Indonesia)
cincau	a cooling jelly made from a plant
taucio	preserved soy beans
tauge	bean sprouts

These words, which have been counted as part of the H component of BM, may have entered BM at the same time and in the same way as they entered other M varieties. Some might even have entered BM secondarily from another M source. The fact that they are in common use in M suggests the possibility that these and perhaps other H-isms may have come via M.

The Re-acculturation of the Babas

In examining H lexical borrowings in BM, the aspect of re-acculturation of the Babas after their initial Malayan acculturation needs to be stated[1].

The early Chinese who settled in the Malay peninsula (chiefly Malacca) from the fifteenth century acculturated to the Malayan environment, adopting the local Malay language and adapting local cultural elements. The lack of Chinese women (because of emigration laws in China which prohibited female emigration until 1853), forced the early settlers to take local women as wives. This is generally believed to be the cause of the emergence of the Baba community (Tan 1979:49-82).

By the eighteenth century, a culturally distinctive group of Chinese who were Malayan-born had already come into being (Tan 1979:65). Under the Dutch who were the first to carry statistics on the Chinese in Malacca, there were about 2,000 Babas in eighteenth century Malacca (Winstedt 1948:19).

Under the British colonial administration beginning in the early nineteenth century, Malaya presented opportunities which attracted thousands of Chinese immigrants. The early Chinese in Malaya were not only traders but also entrepreneurs who ventured into the hinterland, mining gold and tin, commercially cultivating gambier, pepper, tapioca and rubber and subsequently dealing in import and export trade. As land developers and financiers, they soon became the wealthiest community in Malaya. Many of the successful Chinese capitalists were Babas although some were non-Baba. Later Chinese immigrants provided most of the labor for the expanded commercial enterprises of the British and the earlier established Chinese.

The effect of massive Chinese immigration in the nineteenth and early twentieth century was tremendous on the Baba community. Increased Chinese immigration led to an increase in the Baba population (Tan 1979:66). The established Babas selectively absorbed Chinese newcomers as sons-in-law for their locally-born daughters who did not inter-marry with the natives. In fact, intermarriage with the locals even by the males had stopped as soon as the Babas could look within their own community for reproducing themselves.

Two significant developments for the Baba speech community also occurred with the coming of the British. English became an important language for the Straits Chinese for obtaining entry into white collar jobs and business and for associating with the British colonial power and commercial class. On the other hand, the presence of a growing body of new China-oriented settlers who formed the labor

force for the newly expanding commercial activities and with whom the Babas had to interact on a daily basis, led to the realization by the Babas of the need to learn Chinese (Tan 1979:72), especially H.

A further development of their increased wealth was the ability to acquire, besides their English education, the Chinese classics (which were translated into romanized Malay), Chinese-style houses, Chinese porcelain and furniture, imported skills from China for architectural designs, and many other material goods.

The sum effect was a reacculturation of the Babas away from the Malay base and towards non-Baba Chinese as well as towards the British.

The assessment of the re-acculturation of the Babas, then, is of direct relevance to the study of the lexical links of BM with H. The existence of several H-isms in BM must be seen in terms of comparatively recent borrowings, a direct development of the re-acculturation of the Babas to things Chinese including increased daily interaction with non-Baba Chinese.

In contemporary Singapore, where the Chinese population exceeds 76% of the total population, massive re-acculturation or resinification of the Babas is taking place with the result that more H items can be found, for example, in the BM of Singapore than that of Malacca (See my working paper on the sociolinguistic situation of the Babas in contemporary Singapore and Malaysia; Pakir 1984:64-65).

CATEGORIZATIONS OF THE H BORROWINGS

Literature Review

The phenomenon of extensive Chinese (H) loanword borrowing in BM has been observed by Shellabear (1913), by Tan (1980) and by Lee (1984), undoubtedly because it is a characteristic feature of the lexical corpus of BM. Hamilton (1924) and Png (1967) have also made lists of Chinese loanwords in M, though they did not restrict themselves to BM.

Shellabear, in describing words of Chinese origin in BM, mentions the pronouns *goa* 'I' and *lu* 'you' as the Chinese words "most frequently used in BM" and says that kin relationships are expressed by Chinese and not by Malay words (barring the few exceptions: *mak* (mother); *adek* (younger brother or sister) and *abang* (elder brother) (Shellabear 1913:54). One major difference here is that today a Baba addresses an elder brother with H *hian*, rather than *abang*, indicating a change which has taken place over the decades. Alternatively, Shellabear could have been mistaken in his belief that elder brothers were addressed as *abang*, which is usually used by other Malay[2].

Shellabear also noted that another "very large class of words which the Babas have borrowed from the Chinese language are those relating to household affairs" and attributed this to the fact that "the construction of their houses is Chinese in plan rather than Malay". Furthermore, kitchen utensils are known by their Malay names, "but anything peculiar to the Chinese receives a Chinese name" (Shellabear 1913:55).

A third area where Chinese loanwords are abundant is "everything connected with the religious ceremonies of the Babas". Business affairs, medicine and games (gambling) are also areas where there are a number of words of Chinese origin. Finally, according to Shellabear, "the Babas also use a good many words of Chinese origin to express abstract ideas, but not always to express the same meaning that the word conveys to the Hokkien chinaman" (1913:55). (See Shellabear's list of "Words peculiar to the Babas", 1913:59-63).

Tan (1980) repeats Shellabear's early observations on Chinese (H) loanwords, for example, the use of the pronouns, the use of Chinese loanwords in Baba customs, kinship and religion, the use of Chinese loanwords "for many things which are of Chinese origin... related to house and furniture, food, kitchen utensils, personal effects and other things" and to express "certain Chinese concepts other than religious concepts" (see Tan 1980:152-156 for further examples). Tan concludes that "in general it may be said that Chinese loanwords are used mostly for things and concepts which are of Chinese origin or which have no Malay equivalents. Not many Chinese terms are used for action, that is, as verbs except in those actions which are related to Chinese customs and religions." (1980:156).

Lee (1984) also notes the same semantic domains where Chinese H borrowings are prominent: customs, religions and celebrations; pronouns, politeness system and kinship terms; wedding and related terms; foodstuff, cakes and cooking terms; fruits, vegetables, spices, flowers and other plants; kitchen equipment; household equipment and furniture; parts of the house; dress and personal ornaments; animals and insects; some nouns; some verbs, adjectives and adverbs (see Lee 1984:158-170 for a rather comprehensive list).

Cheo Kim Ban, author of *A Baba Wedding* (1983) the most detailed and painstakingly researched publication on the traditional Baba wedding (which is rarely seen nowadays) has a large number of Chinese (H) loanwords. I found at least 50 recognizably Chinese terms all pertaining to the traditional Baba wedding.

No quantitative count has been made of the number of Chinese loanwords in BM although in 1924, A.W. Hamilton was the first to compile a list of 193 Chinese

loanwords in the Malay language. (see Hamilton 1924:48-56 for his list.) As a native speaker of BM I recognize 71 of these Chinese loanwords as BM words.

In 1967 Png Poh-Seng conducted a preliminary survey of Chinese loanwords in the Malay language and concluded that "there are a total of about 400 Chinese loan-words" borrowed from the Fukien (H) spoken language. He divided the Chinese loanwords into two broad groups: (a) words that have become a part of general Malay vocabulary and (b) words used mainly by Baba Chinese. Png says, however, that "words restricted to Baba usage ... represent only about 10% of the total" (i.e. 40) and consist of three main categories: "names of relatives"; "words expressing emotion which have no true Malay equivalent"; and "words which refer to typically Chinese things or actions." (1967:1-2) (see Png 1967:6-24 for his list). Obviously, there are more than 40 H-isms in BM and many of the words that have become "a part of general Malay vocabulary" are also BM words.

For a comparison, see Leo's (1975) "Chinese loanwords used by the inhabitants of the city of Jakarta" where he has in wordlist III, 86 borrowings used by the Chinese peranakans of Jakarta.

In summary of this section (an overview of what has been said about H borrowings in the lexicon of BM) we note that all of the six accounts carry an overlap of repeated entries for the loanwords. Furthermore, there seems also to be an overlap in the categorizations made for the cultural domains of the borrowing.

A point to note is that in spite of the impression given above that BM contains a significant number of H lexical borrowings which have their source in the "Chinese" world view held by the Babas, a cursory textual or lexical count of my data would reveal that much of BM is Malay - almost all of its basic vocabulary and much of the exchanges between BM speakers would have all or only M words. Clearly to me, any of the conversations among my BM informants will be fairly, although not completely, understood by speakers of Malay. So the evidence of H lexical borrowings treated here may present a rather skewed notion.

Arguably, what most marks out BM from other varieties of M in terms of its lexical corpus is the number of H loanwords, or H-isms in the vocabulary of the BM speakers. But as has been stated before, these H borrowings must be seen as comparatively recent ones. It is significant that the earliest accounts of Chinese borrowings in M or BM did not start till the beginning of the twentieth century.

Present Corpus

In going through my data, I used the accounts given above for their characterizations of the overall pattern of borrowing from Chinese in BM (assuming

that what the observers have reported is true). Sometimes I also used them as sources of specific Chinese loanwords in BM, whether for an earlier period (Shellabear's, Hamilton's, Png's) or for contemporary usage in Malacca (Lee's, Tan's) or for a specific cultural domain, for example, the Baba wedding (Cheo's).

The data gathered for this study in the context of free-wheeling conversations and casual discoursal settings give ample examples of the nature of BM lexicon. A simple listing and cataloguing of H-isms in the data was able to provide verification of the assumption of cultural domains made by previous observers of the language.

The assumptions made by the previous writers that we find Chinese loanwords clustering around certain cultural areas were found in this study to be generally true. In other words, the use of Chinese loanwords in the above mentioned semantic domains is still characteristic in present-day BM speech, although the lexical loss in some of the categories is evident because certain material artefacts are no longer used or certain traditional practices have been dying out.

I analyzed my data to test the claims made by previous writers about the numbers of categories of H loans in BM. My analysis resulted in a somewhat different categorization of these loans.

In this analysis of the lexical phenomenon of H-isms in the corpus, my data showed up words which could be grouped into ten categories, many of which were suggested by the above observers but had not been adequately treated. In the categorization that I did, I discovered an area which has not been studied before: ethnic value terms and words of emotive import[3]. There was also the need for an "unclassifiable" category, that is, where words that did not belong to any of the other categories could be placed.

The categories are:

1 Terms of address and reference
2 Celebrations, customs, beliefs and religion
3 Cloth, materials and trimmings, hair, dress, personal ornaments and effects
4 Games and Gambling
5 House parts
6 Household equipment, utensils and furniture
7 Ingestibles and food preparations
8 Medicinal terms
9 Reckoning (time, measurements)
10 Terms dealing with business
11 "Unclassifiable" (wastebasket category)
12 Terms of emotive import and value judgement terms.

Attention is drawn to the terms of emotive import and value judgement terms used by the speakers. Here is an area of vocabulary where the speakers could have easily used M words, that is, there are synonymous M words, but have chosen H-isms instead. This was the surprising discovery of the study.

A listing of contemporary Singapore BM examples for the above categories which appear in my corpus will be given in the following sections under the relevant section headings, and commented on. Those terms that are also used in other M are marked with (M).

They have been obtained from the 91 hours of taped conversation and are representative both in quantity (i.e. most of the list) and quality (i.e. the sample fairly represents all of the types of items in the category). First, all Chinese-like items were noted down by going through the tape-scripts and the fieldwork notebooks. Then other Chinese borrowings such as from the Cantonese[4] were eliminated. I then compiled the list with the pre-set 10 categories, but ended up with twelve.

Terms of address and reference

The most frequent feature of the data is the use of the first person and second person pronouns *gua* and *lu* from the H *gca* and *li*. These pronominal forms were used freely among my informants, perhaps because they knew each other fairly well. However, in polite discourse and exchanges between younger and older Babas, the use of M *saya* 'I' and an appropriate term of address and/or reference for the older person, such as *bibik* X or *taci* X for X (female) who is 78 years old, or *incek* Y (male) who is 67 years old, is used rather than *lu*. The older folk may address the younger interlocutors with *lu* but seldom do the younger ones in the exchanges use *lu* to their elders. Thus, as has been said earlier, in the context of free conversations among these people who were familiar with each other, there was ample use of gua and lu (as markers of intimacy rather than an indication of impoliteness). Whenever a new person visited, a subtle change could be observed in the use of the first person pronoun especially. Occasionally, a younger person would refer to himself or herself in the third person (using his/her personal name) as a mark of deference to the older person being addressed.

It is interesting to note that Bazaar Malay, another variety of M used as a linguistic code throughout Malaysia and Singapore, and sometimes confused with Baba Malay, uses *saya* 'I, me' and *awak* 'you' (see Collins 1983:12). Note, furthermore, that Wurm (1971:1014) does not list the use of *gua* and *lu* as one of the features of Bazaar Malay. Thus, one feature which marks BM as distinct from Bazaar Malay, is the characteristic use of *gua* and *lu*.

It is also a feature of the data collected that many of the kin terms that are used are H lexical borrowings. The following are kin terms of address and/or reference and they are all taken from H forms which are given within these angled brackets < >:

hiã	elder brother	<toa hiã>
taci	elder sister	<toa ci>
encim	father's younger brother's wife	<cim>
entio	mother's sister's husband	<i tiu>
enku	mother's elder brother	<ku>
enkim	mother's elder brother's wife	<kim>
enso	elder brother's wife	<so>
si i	maternal fourth aunt	<si i>
nio	mother-in-law	<niu> 'lady'
kia sai	son-in'law	<kia sai>
cau	elder sister's husband	<ci hu>
cing kE	parents-in-law;	
father-in-law	<cin ke>	
cek um	mother-in-law (T63)	<cin um>
tua ku	mother's eldest brother	<tua ku>
tua kim	mother's eldest brother's wife	<tua kim>
ngkuã	father-in-law	<ta kuã>
gua kong	mother's father	<gua kong>
gua ma	mother's mother	<gua ma>
gua co	ancestors on mother's side	<gua chO>
lai kong	father's father	<lai kong>
lai ma	father's mother	<ku>
lai co	ancestors on father's side	<lai chO>
cau kong kong	ancestors	<chO kong>
ku	mother's elder/younger brother	<ku>
ko	father's elder/younger sister	<ko>
cek	father's younger brother	<cek>
enkong	paternal grandfather	<kong>
co	great grandparents	<chO>
kong co	ancestors (T54)	<chO kong>
gua ke	relatives on wife's side	<gua ke>

The above kin terms are rapdily being lost among today's younger Baba speakers in Singapore and only those which are most commonly used are understood by all. It is no coincidence that most of the terms above were used by a single speaker, aged 54 whose heightened sense of the Chinese kinship system was apparent. The informant also speaks H and Teochew, a closely related Chinese dialect.

The relevant problem of distinguishing between code-switching and the use of loanwords is recognized here but not completely solved. The partial solution has been to assume that any H which appears in the data in a continuous utterance

where M is the main component is simply a loan. Furthermore, phonological clues such as lack of aspiration and the quality of the vowel were taken into consideration: for example, BM / co / versus H / chO / where in H aspiration (indicated by h) and the lower mid round vowel O are evident whereas they are lacking in BM.

For terms of address and reference, we can compare the work done on H and Peranakan Chinese kin terms in Indonesian which list 231 equivalences between the H form and the Peranakan form (see Tan Glok-Lan 1963: *The Chinese of Sukabumi: a study in social and cultural accommodation*. Refer especially to her appendix III, 293-306). This rather large number gives us an indication of the extent of the use of H kin terms by Chinese who went elsewhere after leaving the Fukien province but who still maintain a Chinese kinship terminology. Although our sample of 30 is comparatively small and certainly not exhaustive, it is indicative of the many Chinese kin terms still being used by Babas today.

Celebrations, Customs, Beliefs and Religion

In customs and religious practices, there is again a large list of H-isms being used in BM. The following is a selection of those used by the speakers I taped. Some of them refer to the deities that are worshipped, some refer to the attendants at specific ceremonies or religious observations followed by the Babas, some refer to the actual ceremonies, while some refer to the articles or objects used in these practices or celebrations.

ang pau	red packet containing money
caiki	red bunting placed over doorways
nio sua	joss-sticks; incense sticks
niolo	joss-stick holder, container hu paper charm
kwanta...	funeral carriage; hearse
tek pai	dowry, gifts that go with the bride
sE jit	birthday
tua sE jit	big birthday (usually in reference to one's sixtieth birthday)
tang cek	celebration of the winter solstice
si ki	death anniversary
tek yen	religious donation; subscription
kon tek	reciting prayers at the tomb
sang kek em	elderly woman who prepared the bride and attends to her on her wedding day
bo teng	no male issue
sian	genie, fairy, immortal
toa pek kong	an idol; image in Chinese shrine
mui lang	match-maker
cutsi	be born
sai kong	Taoist priest

leng cheng tek	bamboo and lamp carried by deceased's son-in-law
ku ya	page-boy, usually bride's brother
pok kua	diviner; person who foretells the future
haulam-hauli	official mourners, usually the sons and daughters of the deceased
hue sio	Buddhist priest; Chinese monk
tok sam kai	three-tiered altar for the God of Heaven
kuli keng	labourers' quarters
bio	Chinese temple
cai tng	vegetable house; temple
tng sua	China; the homeland
sam seng	offering of three kinds of meats
cia lang kek	to entertain, to give a dinner to guests
so nio	to burn joss-sticks during worship
tuaha	to be in mourning
kue pang	to let one's child be adopted by one's relatives or family
ciu tau	purification rite and initiation into adulthood
kui	to kneel before idols or one's elders
soja	to bow in worship
an cng	blessing of the marriage bed
lok tang	to be possessed or be in a trance
liam keng	to chant prayers
pak pue	a method of taking the auspices in Chinese temples or before Chinese altars at home with the aid of two kidney-shaped blocks of wood
po pi	to be protected (by the idols)
ce kuak	to be of the same group
hukom	magic charm or amulet
kuntau	black magic
ciong	conflict which causes one to meet misfortune
huan-tiok	offend a spirit
pekji	Chinese horoscope
ciamsi	a means of divination by using bamboo sticks

Although the above H-isms are certainly not exhaustive for this category involving the cultural beliefs and practices of the Babas, the fact that they are still used in contemporary speech indicates that their use is still very much alive although some of these practices are quickly dying out owing to modernization on the part of the younger Babas in Singapore.

Cloth, Materials, Trimmings; Hair, Dress, Personal Ornaments and Effects

This is a category which includes a whole range of seemingly unrelated items. However, it is a wide enough classification to cover the range of artefacts and objects used by the Babas and which have their origins in H. The following come from the data but there are several others in use:

tau cang or tocang	a pigtail; a queue (M)
co kin or cukin	a short bathing cloth worn by Chinese labourers
bimpo	a handkerchief or small face towel
lok cuan	a strong silk fabric
co cua	rough paper
ca ciok hun	a kind of fine powder used for baby's rash
pong hun	face powder
yen ci	rouge or blusher; also colored powder for dyeing sweets
boek	socks
oto	a baby's abdomen binder
opau	a small purse tied to the waist
ca kiak	wooden clogs

It must be mentioned that most of the above are now obsolete and are not used by the Babas today; however, the tapes from which these were taken contained discussions about such items that have been discarded from use among today's Babas. However, the *baju lok cuan* (the male attire made of strong silk fabric) is still worn today by the males when they attend special Baba occasions such as the Perankan Association Night.

Games and Gambling[5]

Among the favourite Chinese games of the Babas mentioned quite frequently in my data are two, both of which terms are used by Malays too. I have no other examples:

ceki	a popular Chinese card game played with small oblong cards (M)
capjiki	twelve number lottery (M)

House Parts

At the beginning of the twentieth century, Shellabear noted that the construction of most of the houses of the Babas was "Chinese in plan rather than Malay" (1913:55) and that they had a large vocabulary borrowed from the Chinese for describing these house parts. In my data I have only five such terms:

loteng	the upper floor (M)
tiâ	the front room or hall where idols are placed
ji ho	house crest
chimchi	the central court open to the sky
langkan	the inside balcony

In the conversations especially among the older Babas today these terms are still recognized and used although large houses with such parts (the last two items listed above) are now rarely constructed in Singapore. In the seventy-five years since Shellabear wrote his article, there have been changes in Baba life, and certain material aspects are no longer evident today; the effect is felt through changes in the vocabulary.

Household equipment, utensils and furnishings

Here, as has been pointed out elsewhere, H-isms abound. Among those that I found in the data are the following, a sample of common H-isms used in Baba households:

tok po	wiping cloth for the table
loceng	bell or gong (M)
anglo	charcoal stove
kam cheng	container for drinking water
ut tau	iron (for pressing clothes)
tok	table
tu	cupboard

Ingestibles and Terms for Food Preparation

Although much of nyonya cooking and several of its culinary delights involve Malay type preparations and are Malay influenced (thereby being known by M names)[6], there is a substantial portion of the Baba lexical corpus where H-isms are used to describe ingestibles. Some of these are peculiar only to the Babas while some are used by other Chinese and several are used by other M.

po pia	Chinese spring rolls with bamboo shoot, meat, and crab filling etc. rolled in flour skin or thin egg skin (M)
si kua	watermelon
pong tauhu	bean curd with meatball soup
ota ota	grilled fish meat wrapped in leaves (M)
cap cai	mixed vegetable soup (Ind. M)
kuaci	dried melon seeds (M)
nioko	Chinese mushroom
mi sian	rice vermicelli in spicy gravy
mi hun	rice vermicelli (M)
mi tai mak	tear-drop shaped rice flour noodle
si kua	water-melon
cai po	dried and salted turnips
ho i	fishball
tau cio	preserved soy beans (M)
mi sua	fine wheat vermicelli
mi	yellow noodles

ang ki	persimmon
cak yen	jelly
ku cai	leek (M)
cin cau	a cooling jelly made from a plant (M)
tau ge	beansprouts (M)
kana	Chinese olive eaten salted or as a sweet preserve

Some terms dealing with food preparation have also H sources:

ca	fry
cue	cook by steaming
tim	to steam in a double boiler
sio	roast

There are several more examples of H-isms in BM involving foodstuff and ingredients and some of these have been borrowed into Malay. In fact, in matters of food, the H borrowings in M are rather plentiful (see the number of (M) markings).

In this cultural area of food, the characteristic feature of the BM lexicon is the use of idioms where M and H lexical items go together to describe a particular nyonya dish, such as *itek sio* (M: 'duck', H: 'roasted'), to refer to the well known nyonya preparation of duck roasted in coriander.

Other examples include: *itek tim* (M: 'duck', H: 'steam in a double boiler'[7]), another special nyonya dish; and *babi tim* (M: 'pig', H: 'steam in a double boiler').

Medicinal Terms

From my informants' discussions of home remedies for illnesses, the following H items were found:

tian tian ci	Chinese medicine to ripen a boil
cu pek san	medicinal powder for infant convulsions
taiko	leprosy
mek	the human pulse
iok tiam	Chinese medicine
sin se	Chinese doctor or medicine man
hong iok	oil for wind in the stomach
pek tai	white discharge in women
kam tiok	catch an illness, e.g. flu
kam cek	indigestion; worms in the stomach
ciok hun	medicinal powder which has been compressed

Reckoning (time, measurements)

The Babas count days of the week with M lexification but using the H paradigm (*ari satu* 'day one'; *ari dua* 'day two'; *ari tiga* 'day three' etc.)[8]

However, they use the Chinese calendar to refer to dates (especially the important dates for cultural celebrations):

cap go me	fifteenth day of the Chinese New Year
cap it guek ce it	first day of the eleventh month
cap lak me	the sixteenth day
ce it cap go	fifteenth of the first month
cap sa ho	the thirtieth
cap ji ho	the twentieth
ji kau me	the twenty-ninth; usually in reference to Chinese New Year's eve.
lun guek	intercalary month

Time in the religious sense is referred to as *si* from the H *kuan si* 'look for the auspicious time' as in *mesti tengok dia mia si* 'we have to look at whether the time is auspicious (for example, for a certain action)'.

Occasionally, reference to numbers is made in H:

cap kui ceng	tens of thousands
go cap kui	fifty over
ceng jit	one thousand and seven

Terms Dealing with Business

There were not many of these in my data and the following comprised the whole list:

kongsi	company or firm; to share (M)
hue	a kind of tontine
kau kuan	to patronize

Unclassifiable

This category is a kind of wastebasket where H lexical borrowings which could not fit into any of the above categories were placed:

compo	cook
tau ke	a well-to-do Chinese; an employer; the head of a business (M)
tau ke nio	the wife or lady of the tau ke
ong te	emperor
ca bo kan	girl servant
lau kue bu	old hens = over-the-hill people
toa lau kau	old boys = over-the-hill people
sam kok	three kingdoms
ut	to press or iron clothes
ciang	to carry a person on the back
giat	to tease, joke, or gibe someone

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hiam	criticize; condemn; dislike
cai	guess'(usually to obtain a winning number)
kuan tai	treat well a guest or a superior
cia	invite to a feast (T)
liam keng	recite Buddhist bible; nag, grumble
hok sai	worship or follow a religious man
cam siang	to discuss in detail
kOtOk	ill-treat
tamsia	investigate

Terms of Emotive Import and Value Judgement Terms[9]

One surprising find was the use of words carrying emotive import or terms dealing with (ethnic?) value judgement. For the most part, they fall into the category of "adjectives":

li hai	serious, sharp, treacherous
kam siap	stingy
tua pan	important, grand, dignified
siau	digested
bok cai	wasted
kek ki	irritated
kek sim	broken-hearted
pai piak	bad character
ke po	interfering in the business of others
ke wat	acting pretentiously
cau ge	a chatter-box; talkative
cin kau ek	feeling of uneasiness
yau kui	greedy
lau jiat	crowded and noisy
ho	good
cin cai	easy-going; undemanding
kuansi	accustomed to
so sia	causing shame, embarrassment
u hau	filial
sia	saintly; having the power to go good
cau co	having a fishy smell
ho mia	fortunate, nice, lucky
cuan	tired; breathless
bo pian	no way out
juak si	hot (of the weather)
pai mia	unfortunate, unlucky
lau sit	honest; of an even disposition
kuai-kuai	be good (of children)
sue	anything bringing bad luck, misfortune
gian	greedy
cut mia	famous
gong kia	retarded
iau kin	important
bo eng	lacking time
long pue	spoilt; destroyed

kam guan	willing, satisfied
ciong	in conflict
em cai si	not realizing one's good fortune
gek	China-born
pai kia	bad hat; black sheep
auban	unreasonable

Summary and Conclusion

The lexical items found in the data (for the twelve categories listed earlier in this section) total just over 220 (222) items collected in about 90 hours of tape and in the fieldwork notebooks. The number is certainly not exhaustive of the total possible H lexical items to be found in BM but it is significant that it works out to about 2.5 H lexical items per hour of tape.

H borrowings in BM (about 350, by Png's estimate (1969:71) are not as many as other foreign borrowings in other M, for example, Arabic borrowings (about 1,000). The number is closer to Sanskrit loans in M (over 300). It is a large number, however, in comparison to other borrowings in M - Persian, Hindustani, Tamil, Portuguese, Dutch, and even perhaps English (for which I have no figure).

The categorization of the items above confirms the assumptions made by the earlier observers of the language that the H-isms tend to cluster around culturally based domains, such as the address and reference system, the celebrations, customs, beliefs and practices of the Babas, their personal effects, their food, and their household stuff. In the present treatment, it was found that there were at least eleven semantic domains in which the H loanwords cluster[10].

The lists of such H-isms are also confirmatory of what linguists have for long known: that the transfer of lexical material could be ascribed to cultural conditions.

A general claim about lexical loss is that words will fall into disuse as soon as the object or the practice of a certain custom or tradition falls into disuse, possibly in the process of modernization and urbanization. For example, Shellabear's list of words peculiar to the Babas (made seventy-five years ago) is found to contain words which no longer are in active use by the Babas but are 'recollected' when Babas speak nostalgically about *dulukala* (the past). The plan of Baba houses nowadays is no longer the kind that was found several decades ago; the home-type medicinal approach to illnesses has now been replaced by visits to modern western-type clinics and hospitals; the use of kinship and address terms is rapidly being lost among younger Babas as they conveniently address older folk as 'uncle' or 'aunt' as cover terms for related as well as non-related members of the community.

The most interesting part of the H-isms in BM is the use of emotive terms and value judgement terms. It is of particular interest since it shows the creeping influence of H lexical items in BM as the Babas become re-acculturated to more than just Chinese material things. The use of Chinese value judgement terms indicate that the Babas are also being oriented to the Chinese way of thinking.

The Babas, by being constantly exposed to potential interference from H (because the Babas are mainly Hokkiens and more than 50% of them have some knowledge of H), readily adopt H-isms other than loanwords which denote objects or practices. Besides, within the context of their social setting the Babas might sometimes want to wear their Chinese identity as a badge and the use of such H terms which carry emotive import may indicate a Chinese 'presentation of self'.

Most of the items in the twelve categories listed at the beginning of this section can be seen as belonging to the cultural vocabulary of the Babas. Those who are more re-acculturated tend to have more of them and those who are less have fewer.

Types of Borrowing

BM borrowings from H can be classified as simple loanwords, calques and hybridized formations. Collectively, these show that of all the links to H (phonological, lexical and syntactic) the lexical ones may be the most clearly discernible and serve to give the impression that BM is not quite like other M.

Simple Loanwords

The simple loanwords which are transparent, that is, easily matched to their H counterparts are many. Except for phonetic details, for example, the lack of aspiration or the lack of tones in BM, where these are found in H, the 'fit' between the borrowed and the borrowing item is rather good. See for example the list of terms of address and reference above, where H items were given in angle brackets < > for comparison with BM.

An example from the category "celebrations, customs, belief and religion" is BM *sonio* (to burn joss-sticks during worship), corresponding to the H *sio* (burn) *hiun* (fragrant sticks, i.e. joss-sticks).

Examples of 'non-transparent' borrowing, that is, where there is a lack of fit between the borrowing and the borrowed item are not numerous. An example is BM *nio sua* (incense sticks; joss-sticks) which corresponds to H *hiun* (fragrant sticks, joss-sticks). There is *hiun cua* in H but it means 'fragrant sticks and paper'.

In the process of borrowing, the Baba Chinese may have re-analyzed *hiun cua* as 'joss-sticks,' thereby calling them *nio sua*.

There is also non-transparent borrowing in the BM word for bathroom, *ciwan*. This may have come from H *cui cuan*, (tap or faucet).

But since the majority of the H borrowings can easily be matched to their H counterparts, the notion is easily gained that BM has many H simple loanwords.

Calques

BM can be considered to be a distinctive M dialect in that it has calques[11] from H which are missing in other M. The following are examples of true calques (i.e. loan translations) although the M order of Head-Attribute is followed rather than the H order of Attribute-Head:

kretas mas 'gold-paper money for the gods' (*kretas* 'paper'; *mas* 'gold') from the H *kim-cua* (*kim* 'gold'; *cua* 'paper')
kretas perak 'silver paper money for the deceased' (*kretas*, 'paper'; *perak*, 'silver') from the H *gun-cua* (*gun* 'silver'; *cua* 'paper')
bikin tuju ari 'rites on the seventh day after death' (*bikin* 'do, make'; *tuju* 'seven', *ari* 'day') from the H *co* 'do', *cit* 'seven', *jit* 'day').

However, the following may be an example of an inaccurate loan translation:

turun datok 'a god descends and enters into a human body'. (*turun* 'come down'; *datok* 'god') from the H *lok tang* (*lok* 'come down'; *tang* 'Chinese medium') 'a god enters (or comes down) into the body of a medium'.

Calques from H are found in those areas of Baba life which have no parallel in the Malay culture, for example, Chinese beliefs and practices. Here we can say that H content is expressed in M form.

In her study of the Malacca dialect of BM (1984:185-189), Lee has pointed out M words which are used peculiarly by the Babas: *abu* (M 'ash') is used by Babas also to refer to the ashes of their ancestors, so *piara abu* is an expression to mean 'look after the ashes of one's ancestors' (usually kept in an urn in the house or in a temple), a Chinese practice.

Similarly, the Babas use *datok* to mean 'a god or goddess' whereas *datuk* is used by other M speakers to mean 'grandfather' (1984:186).

Here we can say that BM is 'idiomatically' Chinese: these calques from H and semantic equivalences to H cast in M form are based on H content, thus giving the impression of BM being an alien-type of M. It is also shown here how lexical BM links to H are distinctive; other M do not show this type of relationship.

Hybrid Formations

As in calques, hybrid formations in BM are contextually determined and refer to material objects or cultural practices of the Babas as a specific community[12]. In the classification of hybrid formations two sub-categories are evident: H as attribute and H as head. These hybridized items are again what makes BM distinctive as a M dialect since simple loanwords from H exist in other M hybridizations do not.

Most of the hybrid formations consist of two elements, though some three element structures are also found[13]. The interesting discovery here is that BM follows the M order of Head-Attribute in its ordering of the elements, even when it uses H as head. This indicates the strong tie that BM has with other M.

H as Attribute

Here the relationship is that of a H attribute following a M head. These represent a number of different constructions such as N-N, V-N, N-Adj, V-Adj, and N-V. These are tabulated below.

Table 1: M-H Examples in BM (Head-Attribute)

N-N Order

baju *hok-ciu*	dress, Hock-Chiew = 'short jacket with three-quarter length sleeves and a three-quarter length skirt, after the Hock Chiew fashion'
baju *lok-cuan*	dress, silk-crepe = 'men's attire made of strong silk fabric'
cucu *gua-kong*	grandchild, mother's father = 'maternal grandchild'
cucu *lai-kong*	grandchild, father's father = 'paternal grandchild'
kain *cu-kin*	cloth, hand-towel = 'a short bathing cloth'

V-N Order

jadi *kong-chin*	become, go-between = 'be a mediator'
jadi *mui-lang*	become, older-female-person = 'be a match-maker'
bikin *toa-se-jit*	do, big-birthday = 'celebrate one's sixtieth year of existence'
bikin *sam-seng*	do, three-meat = 'to pray, offering three kinds of meat'
buat *kang*	make, work = 'to make oneself busy'
buat *cau-kuan*	make, bad-example = 'to be oneself busy'
mengadap *tok sam kai*	face table-three-levels = 'facing the altar of heaven, i.e. getting married'
buat *ko tong*	make, partner = 'take as a partner'
main *ceki*	play, card-game = 'play the *ceki* game'
main *pak-kau*	play, cards = 'play with cards'

N-Adj Order

rambot *ke*	hair, false = 'wig'
ruma *ciong*	house, in conflict = 'an ill-fated house'
naseb *sue*	luck, ill = 'bad luck'
anak *seng*	child, pampered = 'a pampered child'
budak *kuai*	youth, good = 'a pleasing youngster'
barang *po-sim*	thing, strengthening-of-the-kidneys = 'medicacious stuff'

V-Adj Order

tengok *sue*	see, ill = 'look down on'
buat *sue*	make, ill = 'to bring down bad luck'
rasa *kawek*	feel, uneasy = 'to feel uneasy (healthwise)'

N-V Order

taon *lun*	year, repeat = 'leap year'
ari *cutsi*	day, be born = 'birthday'
tempat *cutsi*	place, be born = 'birthplace'
main *pak-bu*	play, tumbling = 'boxing and tumbling'
nasi *tim*	rice, steam = 'steamed rice'
babi *tim*	pig, steam = 'steamed pork'
itek *tim*	duck, steam = 'special nyonya stewed duck'
itek *sio*	duck, roast = 'classic nyonya duck dish simmered in coriander'

H as Head

Here the relationship is that of a H head following a M attribute. These again represent a number of different constructions such as N-N, V-N, N-Adj, V-Adj, and N-V. These are tabulated below.

Table 2: H-M Examples in BM (Head-Attribute)

N-N

tu baju	cupboard, clothes = 'clothes cupboard'
tu kaca	cupboard, glass = 'glass cupboard'
tu laok	cupboard, food = 'food closet'
tocang babi	queue, pig = 'plaited long hair'
tok datok	table, god = 'table for the gods/goddesses'

V-N

hoksai datok	worship, god/idol = 'pray to an image'
ut baju	iron, clothes = 'to press clothes'
ciang kuda	ride, horse = 'to ride a horse'

N-Adj

ngkim kecik	aunt, small = 'wife of youngest maternal uncle'
oto cina	string, Chinese = 'child's abdomen binder'
kongsi gelap	society, dark = 'secret society'
tok panjang	table, long = 'long table; a special table for seating several persons at a meal'

V-Adj

tuaha itam	mourn, black = 'the period of mourning in black'
tuaha tingkat	mourn, levels = 'to carry out a period of mourning according to the different stages'

N-V

tok makan nasi	table, eat rice = 'dining table'
tok sanggoi rambot	table, tie-bun hair = 'vanity table'

For direct loans, BM follows the H pattern of attribute-head. For calques, with N-N constituent order, the M pattern of head attribute is found. For the hybridized formations or combinations (i.e. M-H or H-M), the pattern in M, that is, head-attribute is found. This is another piece of evidence to show that the links with M are deeper than with H.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

This paper was primarily an investigation into the lexical corpus of BM, restricted to one aspect of the language which has frequently been commented on, the use of H loanwords.

In particular, we have answered the question of what types of and how many H-isms really exist in BM, or more accurately, in a specific BM corpus. The answer underlines the fact that the Babas use H borrowings for certain well-defined spheres and the lexical links to H are not particularly strong, although the notion that there are many H loanwords in BM has been commonly expressed. We have shown that the notion of massive H borrowings has been too widely accepted without much examination.

Examining contemporary BM lexicon with special reference to its H-isms is linguistically significant. The examination has yielded insights into the nature and extent of comparatively recent H influence. The phonetic evidence (see Pakir, 1986, chapter 3) suggested that the H influence was introduced at a later period, since BM has shown little H influence in its phonological properties. Here, in

looking for lexical links between BM and H we discover that the borrowings are also of a recent nature and that the extent of H influence is also restricted.

The arguments that have been presented here are (1) that although there are numerous H loans in the language, there are not more Chinese lexical borrowings than there are other borrowings (for example, Arabic) in M, and (2) that the presence of several H loans in other M dialects suggests the possibility that some H words in BM might be part of the M component.

The lexical borrowings from H which are used exclusively by the Babas in the context of their customs and practices and 'way of speaking' do not constitute a large enough set (under 400 items) to classify BM as 'Chinese-Malay', which Teeuw (1961) has assumed it to be.

Although H lexis in BM is apparent compared to other varieties of M, it is the use of the calques and the hybridized formations that marks BM as a distinctive variety of M more than the actual borrowings themselves.

A discovery in this study was the need of a new category for H loanwords that carry emotive import and ethnic value judgements. Another discovery was the order of the elements in the hybridized formations which followed the M pattern (that is, head-attribute) whether the H borrowing is the head element or the attribute.

This paper, which investigated the nature of the lexical links between BM and H, concludes that the H influence in this area is apparently more discernible than other (phonological or syntactic) links. However, this study has also helped to establish the fact that borrowing lexical items does not make BM any more Chinese-Malay than say, Ambonese Malay (AM) is Portuguese-Malay because of the presence of several Portuguese loanwords in AM. Furthermore, it demonstrated that the quantity of H borrowings in BM is not much greater than, say, Arabic borrowings in M.

NOTES

1. Refer to Tan (1979, Chapter 4: 49-82, "Acculturation and formation of Baba Society") for an account of how Baba society was formed and developed under special historical conditions. Of immediate interest is Tan's footnote 27 where he disputes the use of terms such as "Chinese renaissance" and "resinification" to describe the phenomenon of Babas acquiring Chinese languages.

2. One basis for assuming that Shellabear is mistaken is the general tendency in the Baba community to assume H terms for males (cf. *kia sai* ' groom, son-in-law'; *kemanten* ' bridge'; *menantu* ' daughter-in-law' etc).

3. As noted earlier, Png 1967 mentions the fact that H "words expressing emotion which have no true Malay equivalent" are found in BM.

4. Cantonese borrowings include: *ngam-ngam* 'just enough'; *ca siu* 'roast pork strips', and *lo kai yik* 'stewed chicken wings'.

5. Parlour games and children's games popular among the Babas have been described by Felix Chia (1980:144-174). Most of those he describes are known by M names.

6. There are several nyonya cookbooks on the market and several nyonya food places in Singapore, though among the Babas there is a general belief that nyonya home cooking can never be substituted by recipe books and commercial preparations. For a typical Straits Chinese cookbook refer to Terry Tan (1981); two nyonyas who have published their recipes are Mrs. Lee Chin Koon (1983) and Mrs. Leong Yee Soo (1976, 1981).

7. One of the most rewarding aspects of the research with my informants is the garnering of specific details in regard to the past practices of the community which are still retained in the language although the practices may have died out. I had always been intrigued by the fact that this particular nyonya dish, itek tim, is described as a dish cooked by steaming because the present -day method of cooking does not involve steaming at all. Bibik GKN (age 79) recollects that when she was growing up, the nyonyas used the steaming method for this dish.

8. A different view is held by Collins (personal communication) who insists that counting days in Malay by number (*hari satu, hari dua, hari tiga*, etc.), found also in other M dialects is just an alternative to the Arab way (which is equivalent to 1,2,3 etc).

9. I consider these terms to belong to the non-cultural vocabulary of the Babas. George Grace (personal communication) is not so sure that they are non-cultural. They suggest to him a kind of ethno-psychology or ethno-characterology, i.e. a kind of taxonomy of character types and of mood-types. However, there are no empirical means by which we can test the validity of such a notion.

10. Gloria Chan-Yap's (1984) investigation of 163 Hokkien loanwords in present-day Tagalog found that they tended to cluster in two semantic/cultural domains: kinship and cookery. H loanwords in the domain of kinship constituted nine out of a total of 40 kin terms (1984:119); "unlike the number of loanwords in the domain of kinship, the number of loanwords in the domain of cookery constitutes a rather sizeable one" (1984:90).

11. BM calques from H have also been observed in the Malacca dialect (see Lee 1984:179).

12. Compare Kachru's account of "types of lexical innovations" in Indian English (1983:152-162). In a restricted study, "the highest frequency of hybrid formations was found in the context of religion/rituals (11%)" (1983:162).

13. Some of these three element structures indicate that the Baba Chinese adopt some of the H loans unanalyzed because the M component is added on and seems redundant to a H speaking person who knows Malay:

pake tua-ha	wear, wear-filial-piety = 'to be in mourning dress';
kain tok-po	cloth, table-cloth = 'a wiping cloth for tables'
sayo cai-sin	= 'vegetable, vegetable-kind of' = 'choi sum, a kind of vegetable'

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PRONOUNS IN JAPANESE: THEIR FUNCTIONS AND MEANING

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USE OF PRO-FORMS

In our use of language, we use various devices in order to make our communication most efficient on the basis of the principle of economy.

Pro-forms that we use in our language are part of these efficiency-oriented devices. In Japanese we use so-called 'pronouns' such as *watakusi* 'I', *anata* 'you', *kare* 'he', *kanozyo* 'she'; pro-verbals such as *desu* and *da*, pro-adjectivals and pro-adverbials such as *ko-so-a* class words and phrases. I used the expression "pro-nouns" instead of pronominals because their behaviour is partly different from pronominals. In English, pronominals such as *I, we, you, he, she, it, they* can refer to what is referred to by preceding noun phrases, not nouns alone. For example, if I say, "I met a pretty girl from England in Sydney. She spoke flawless Japanese." By *she*, I mean *a pretty girl from England* and not *a girl* alone. If this *she* is a pronoun, that is, a pro-form for a noun, I should be able to say 'a pretty *she* from England,' but this is not possible. The Japanese counterparts of English pronominals are what I call 'zero-pronominals' (Kuroda 1965; Yano 1977). The Japanese pronouns have different functions from those of zero-pronominals. I will return to this later.

Grice (1975) observes that discourse paticipants follow guidelines for the efficient and effective use of language in order to further co-operative ends. Accordingly he has set up four maxims under what he calls "co-operative principle." One of these maxims is *the maxim of quantity*, and its second item goes: do not make your contribution more informative than is required.

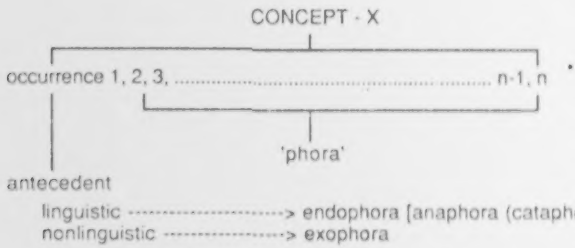
Pro-forms can be viewed as the linguistic device to observe this maxim since their primary function is to avoid the useless repetition of the same expression. Their form is much simpler and the amount of information they carry is much less as well. In the sentences I mentioned above, for example, *she* instead of *a pretty girl from England* has only one syllable and carries only four semantic features, [+human], [+singular], [+female], [+third person].

PRO-FORMS AND THEIR REFERENTS

The relationship between pro-forms and what are referred to is that of co-referentiality. In my view (Yano 1977 and elsewhere), it is the relationship between

the first occurrence of a given concept (things, events and whatever) and its second and subsequent occurrences. A rough sketch of it is shown in (1):

(1)



When the first occurrence of a concept is linguistically realized, it in principle takes an indefinite full form. The second and subsequent occurrences then take definite descriptions, pro-forms, ellipsis and the like to avoid the repetition of the same expression. Those second and subsequent occurrences are what we call endophora, namely, the case when the antecedent is in the text and precedes the pro-form. We also have the case of cataphora, where what is referred to follows instead of precedes the pro-form. I put cataphora in parentheses because I interpret it as a "marked" subcategory of anaphora. I am using the word 'antecedent' as an abstract entity, not as a concrete linguistic form. Therefore it can take the linguistic form of nouns, noun phrases, clauses, sentences and even the whole discourse.

When the antecedent is nonlinguistically realized, that is, when it cannot be found in the text, this is the case of exophora. A typical example is the case of deictic expressions of persons, time and space such as the first-person and second-person pronouns, *now* and *then*, and *here* and *there*. As Lyons (1977) observes, the situation is egocentric in the sense that the speaker, by being the speaker, casts himself in the role of ego and relates everything to his viewpoint. In other words, the place of the speaker and the moment of speech become the spatiotemporal centre. The speaker has his own presence as the antecedent of *watakusi* or *I*, the presence of his addressee as that of *anata* or *you*, and the place and time at which the speech takes place as the antecedent of *koko* or *here* and *ima* or *now*.

THE JAPANESE ZERO-PRONOMINALS AS ENDOPHORA AND EXOPHORA

In Yano (1977 and 1984), I pointed out that Japanese zero-pronominals are in principle the same as English pronominals in their function. To take an anaphoric example from English, a given concept obligatorily assumes the pronominalized form in its second and subsequent occurrences as is shown in (2):

(2) a. John$_i$ put John's$_i$ hand in John's$_i$ pocket.
b. John$_i$ put his$_i$ hand in his$_i$ pocket.

where (2a) is a simplified deep structure and (2b), surface form. If the second and the third *John's* in (2a) are not pronominalized, the coreferentiality of the concept*John* in (2b) will be lost, and the second and the third *John's* will refer to different a John.

In Japanese, what is pronominalized obligatorily in English takes the zero-form as in (3) below:

(3) a. John$_i$ wa John$_i$ no pocket ni John$_i$ no te o ireta.
TOP POS to POS hand OBJ put-PAST
b. John wa pocket ni te o ireta.
'John put his hand in his pocket.'

where (3b) is taken to be a normal, non-emphatic, non-contrastive, and referentially non-ambiguous utterance. Hearing and/or reading (3b), Japanese native speakers intuitively recover the zeroed information, *John no* 'John's' and interpret both *pocket* and *te* 'hand' as John's. That's why I call this type of zeroing "zero-pronominalization."

Zero-pronominals as exophora are also common in our use of Japanese. Consider (4), (5), and (6) below:

(4) [tasting a glass of wine] Waruku-nai ne. 'Not bad, is it?'
bad-not

(5) [to a son who returned from a job interview] Doo datta? 'How was (it)?'
how are-PAST

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(6) [a man who dotes on his two-year old daughter calls his wife on the phone]
Moo neta? 'Has (she) gone to bed yet?'
already sleep-PAST

where in (4) the antecedent, namely, the first occurrence of the concept being talked about, is the wine the speaker has just tasted. It is situationally provided because it is present at the place and the time of the utterance. Whereas in (5) and (6) the common experience and/or common knowledge between the speaker and the addressee serve as the antecedent respectively although they are not physically present at the place of the utterance. In (5) the speaker and addressee, namely his/her son both know that the addressee took a job interview. In (6) again, both the speaker, husband, and the addressee, his wife, know who has asked to go to bed.

Thus, the Japanese zero-pronominals and the English pronominals have the same function as endophora and exophora. They share the same condition of recoverability of information which is pronominalized in English and zeroed in Japanese.

JAPANESE PRONOUNS

We have seen that the Japanese zero-pronominals function both as endophora and exophora in the coreferential utterances. What then would be the function of so-called Japanese pronouns? I have mentioned above that zero-pronominals are used in normal, non-emphatic, non-contrastive, and referentially non-ambiguous utterances. In other words, they are used in 'unmarked' utterances.

It has been my hypothesis that so-called Japanese pronouns function as the sign of 'markedness,' the markedness for either emphasis, contrast or referential disambiguation. In other words, Japanese pronouns occupy the supplementary position in the zero-pronominals.

Japanese pronouns have the same function as zero-pronominals in that they can take nouns, noun phrases, clauses, or sentences as their antecedents. At the same time they have the same behaviour as pronouns in that they can be modified by phrases and clauses. For example, we can say, *minikui watasi* 'ugly I', *waratte-iru anata* 'smiling you', *hanasamuna kare* 'handsome he', *kawaii kanozyo* 'cute she.' Having no better name for such a part of speech, I tentatively decided to call them pronouns.

In Yano (1984) I examined whether English personal pronominals were translated into Japanese zero-pronominals. I checked those in Agatha Christie's four stories, *The Mirror Crack'd, A Caribbean Mystery, Nemesis,* and *The Body in*

the Library (only the first chapter respectively). Out of these 1,201 uses of pronominals, 743 (61.9%) were translated into zero-pronominals and 458 (38.1%) were into either full nouns or pronouns.

The percentage of the occurrence of zero-pronominals in the translation was much lower than I had expected. My conjecture had been that the eighty percent of those pronominals would be translated into zero-pronominals because about eighty percent is usually unmarked sentences and in these works of Christie one pronominal occurs per sentence.

I also examined the reverse. I checked Shinichi Hoshi's four short stories and their English translations. They were *Nazo no Onna (The Mysterious Woman) Gendai no Zinsei (A Modern life), Atui Hi no Kyaku (A Visitor on a Hot Day), and Yume no Taikin (Dreaming of Big Money).* The occurrence of Japanese pronouns is 99 times in 944 sentences. This is only 10.5%. In the English translation, 993 personal pronominals occur in 944 sentences and 837 of them (84.3%) were translated from zero-pronominals. These data seem to validate my conjecture that in ordinary stories an average of eighty to eighty-five percent of the second or subsequent occurrences of a given concept are zero-pronominalized. It means that those are "unmarked" cases.

"MARKEDNESS" IN THE USE OF JAPANESE PRONOUNS

In Yano (1977, 1984 and elsewhere) I have argued that Japanese pronouns are used for three purposes; emphasis, contrast, and referential disambiguation of the given concept in its second and subsequent occurrences.

For example, in Hoshi's works cited above, we have the following sentences:

(7) a. #40 Ittai, *kanozyo* wa nanimono de, nan no yoo de otozurete kita no daroo.
on earth she TOP who be what business visit came maybe
#39 Just who was she? #40 What could be the purpose of her visit?

b. #43 *Anata* wa, donata desu ka.
you TOP who be Q
#42 May I ask who you are?

c. #96 Dakedo, *atasi*, nodo ga kawaite iru no yo.
but I throat NOM dry be
#93 But I'm thirsty. [N.O.]

where the use of *kanozyo*, *anata*, and *atasi* is meant to emphasize or give salience to these referents. Even if we delete these pronouns and use zero-pronominals instead, the acceptability of these utterances will not be spoiled.

The contrastive use of pronouns is illustrated in the following examples:

(8) a. #102 *Anata* mo, onomininaru...
you too drink-POLITE
#98 Would you like some too? [N.O.]

b. #179 *Buku* nimo tikara ga waitekita yoo da.
I also energy NOM spring out-came look like
#161 I even [sic] feel stronger. [G.Z.]

c. #17 Sikasi, *kare* niwa sono kane ga, marude nakatta.
but he for-TOP that money NOM at all lack-PAST
#13 But he had nothing at all. [Y.T.]

As in the case of (8) above these sentences can be used without these italic pronouns in the unmarked usage. Another usage of pronouns is to make clear the referential relation in case it is ambiguous. The following are examples:

(9) a. #56 *Boku* ga daredaka, gozonzinadesu ka.
I NOM who-be know-POLITE Q
#151 Who am I? #152 Do you know? [N.O.]

b. #221 *Kimi* wa *boku*, tumari Yamasita Tomohiko ni narisumasite...
you TOP I namely to disguise oneself as
#194 You can be me, Tomohiko Yamashita, and... [G.J.]

where pronouns function to make the referential relation clear.

I have maintained that in the unmarked utterances in Japanese we use zero-pronominals and in the marked cases, pronouns. I gave some examples of the emphatic, contrastive, and disabiguative use of pronouns. In my observation, however, the use of pronouns is less frequent than I expected, especially in the case of the first-person and second-person pronouns. What is used rather often is full nouns indicating the referent's role in the family and in the society.

USE OF "ROLE NAMES" FOR PRONOUNS

The word *pronoun* comes from the Latin word *persona*, meaning 'mask.' It is the translation of the Greek word for 'dramatic character' or 'role.' Lyons (1977)

points out that grammarians derive their metaphorical conception of a language-event as a drama in which the principal role is played by the first person, the role subsidiary to his by the second person, and all other roles by the third person.

The Japanese language seems to reflect the "role-conscious" characteristics of the Japanese people. In our face-to-face conversation, what you might call "role name" is frequently used instead of the first-person and second-person pronouns. For example, it is quite common to hear utterances like those in (10) that are spoken by, say, a middle-aged woman school teacher:

(10) a. *Sensei* no yuu koto o kikinasai. 'Listen to your teacher carefully.'
teacher of say thing OBJ listen-COM
b. *Okaasan* no yuu koto o kikinasai. 'Listen to your mother carefully.'
mother of say thing OBJ listen-COM
c. *Obasan* ga sagasiteageyoo. 'Your aunt will look for it for you.'
aunt NOM look for-will

where in (10a) she is talking to a group of noisy pupils in the class, calling herself *sensei* 'your teacher', the role she is playing toward her pupils. In (10b) she is talking to her son at home, thus identifying herself *okaasan* 'your mother', the role she plays at home. In (10c) she is talking to a little child who has lost his/her toy for example, and is looking for it. Although they are strangers toward each other, she extends her family role and calls herself *obasan* 'your aunt.'

It is interesting to note that these "role names" can only be used when the referent, either the speaker or the addressee, is in the superior position to the opponent in his family role or in his social status. Thus those utterances in (11) below are out:

(11) a. **Seito* no hanasi o kiitekudasai.
pupil of talk OBJ listen-POLITE
'Please listen to what pupil has to say.' (=I'd like to talk to you.)
b. **Musuko* no hanasi o kiite yo.
son of talk OBJ listen
'Listen to what son has to say.' (=I want to talk to you.)
c. **Mei* gao tetudateageyoo ka.
niece NOM help-will Q
'Shall niece help you?' (=Shall I help you?)

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where *seito* 'your pupil' in (11a), *musuko* 'your son' in (11b), and *mei* 'your niece' in (11c) are respectively lower than their addressees in status in the family or in the society.

You might have noticed that what is expressed by the possessive case of the personal pronominals in English is zeroed in Japanese. In (3b) above *pocket ni* meant 'in his pocket.' In (10) *sensei, okaasan, and obasan* mean 'your teacher,' 'your mother,' and 'your aunt' respectively. Some Japanese scholars, therefore, claim that the possessive or demonstrative meaning is part of the meaning of individual words. However, that view will make the semantic analysis and description of words more complex and ad hoc. I believe that it is more reasonable to take this kind of omission as zero-proniminalization.

Summing up "markedness" in the use of pronouns, I would make the following observation: the more it is necessary to mark, the more obligatory it becomes. Conversely, the less it is necessary to mark, the more arbitrary it becomes. In other words, if we don't use pronouns, and use zero-pronominals instead when markedness is required for emphasis, contrast, or disambiguation, the acceptability of the given utterance becomes lower. When this markedness is not so much required, however, the acceptability will not be affected even if we keep using zero-pronominals. But it is interesting to note that if we use pronouns when markedness is not required at all, the utterance becomes unacceptable. In this way, the degree of so-called "markedness need" actually controls the use of pronouns and/or zero-pronominals in Japanese and also decides the acceptability of utterances where those pro-forms are used. The acceptability is not on the dichotomy scale but on the graduation scale, having obligatory pronominalization and/or zero-pronominalization on one end and arbitrary on the other.

"PSYCHOLOGICAL DISTANCE" AND THE USE OF PRONOUNS

I have so far analyzed and categorized the use of pronouns into emphatic, contrastive, and disambiguative purposes. There are some uses of pronouns, however, which do not belong to any of these purposes for markedness.

I conjecture that Japanese pronouns are also used when the speaker/writer wants to keep the so-called "psychological distance" between the addressee/reader or the person he is describing.

There are two ways of describing a person. One is called the "reportive style narrative," in which the writer describes the person from the outside point of view (Kuroda 1965; Yano 1977). In this narrative, Japanese emotional adjectives such as *kanasii* 'sad', *uresii* 'glad', and *sabisii* 'lonely' cannot be used as they are.

They must be accompanied by such verbal suffixes as *-garu* and *-soo*, meaning 'look like.' The other is the "non-reportive style narrative", in which the writer goes inside the person and describes things from that person's point of view. In this narrative, emotional adjectives can be used as they are, with the first person as the subject of the utterance as in ***Watasi wa kanasii***, meaning 'I'm sad.'

As is practised by many professional writers, Shinichi Hoshi uses both narratives, switching from one to the other quite freely. On closer examination he seems to use more zero-pronominals in the nonreportive style narrative, and more pronouns and full nouns in the reportive style narrative. Furthermore it seems that he uses the reportive style narrative when he wants to keep the psychological distance between him and the hero. Let's look at the first part of *Nazo no Onna (The Mysterious Woman)* after the introduction of Kunio Suzuki, the hero:

(12) #7 Kunio wa ittan hirakikaketa me o tozi, kao o sikamenagara,
TOP once open-start eye OBJ close face OBJ grimace-ing
to de kootoobu o osaeta.
hand with back-head OBJ press-PAST
#6 'Having opened his eyes, Kunio then closed them, pressing his hand on the back of his head as he screwed up his face.'

This, being the first scene, it is described in the reportive style narrative, that is, the writer's point of view is outside of Kunio. Then comes #8:

(13) #8 Zukizuki itamu.
throb ache
#7 '(His head) throb(bed) with pain.'

where the writer uses the nonreportive style narrative because he has to have the inside viewpoint to describe Kunio's inner state of being. Although its English translation supplied 'his head' to keep the reportive style narrative, literary #8 means 'My head throbs with pain.' In #9 sentence that followed:

(14) #9 Sakuya, nomisugita sei da na, to kare wa omotta.
last night drink-over-PAST because of be he TOP think-PAST
#8 'I drank too much last night, he thought.'

the writer could have stayed inside Kunio, but as this is still the beginning of the scene, he added *to kare wa omotta* 'he thought' to keep some psychological distance between him and Kunio. To native Japanese speakers, the sentence is quite natural without that addition. Probably the writer felt that he and Kunio have not yet been psychologically united into one since it is still the beginning of the story. But in #10 through #13 that followed, he had to shift his point of view back to that of Kunio again in order to describe Kunio's inner state of being. Therefore nonreportive style narrative was used again.

(15) a. #10 Mune ga mukatuki, hutukayoi no kibun ni matigainai.
chest NOM feel sick hangover of feel doubtless
#9 '(He) felt nauseous.' #10 'No question, (he) had a hangover.'

b. #11 Dare to nonda noka o omoidasoo to sitaga, sore wa dame datta.
who with drink-PAST OBJ recall-will try-PAST that TOP no good
#11 '(He) tried to recall just who he had been drinking with, but it was no use.'

c. #12 Tyoosi ni notte, hasigo o yattesimatta no darco.
be wound up barhopping have-done perhaps
#12 '(He)'d probably gotten into the swing of things and then gone barhopping.'

d. #13 Yoku aru koto da.
often happen thing be
#13 'It often happened.'

The English translation consistently kept the reportive style narrative by keeping the third person's point of view throughout the story.

As we have seen, in the unmarked utterances pronouns tend to be used in the reportive style narrative when the writer wants to keep the psychological distance between him and the person he is describing. On the other hand, zero-pronominals are prefered when the writer adopts the nonreportive style narrative in order to describe the person's inner feelings and other state of being.

PRONOUNS AND "EMPATHY PERSPECTIVE"

The inquiry into the relationship between the writer's psychological distance toward the other and the use of pronouns and/or zero-pronominals might be further developed if we examine this relationship in the light of the "empathy perspective"

which is advocated in Kuno and Kaburaki (1975). Kuno explains this promising perspective as:

> The speaker, in describing an event or state, can choose various "camera angles": He can place himself at a distance from the participants of the event/state and give an objective, detached description. Alternatively, he can position himself closer to one participant than to the others, or, in some special cases, he can completely identify himself with one participant and describe the event/state from this participant's camera angle. The empathy perspective examines syntactic manifestation of the speaker's camera angles in sentences and in a sequence of sentences. (Kuno 1978, 29-30)

"STYLISTIC FACTOR" AND THE USE OF PRONOUNS

Another factor which serves to control the use of pronouns and/or zero-pronominals is the stylistic one, namely, the degree of formality of the utterances. It is not difficult for us to assume that the more formal we become, the more pronouns we would use, and the less formal we become, the more zero-pronominals we would use. In English, it is a commonly observed phenomenon that the subject and/or object of the given utterance are often omitted in the informal and colloquial use. In the case of Japanese, we can come up with examples like (16) and (17):

(16) #66 'Hayaku sore o simattekure. #67 Sonna mono wa, koreizyoo mite-
quickly it OBJ put away-REQ such thing TOP any more see-
itakunai. #68 Otonasikusuru kara, soredake wa hikkometekure."
want-not quiet-will so it-only TOP take away-REQ
#59 'Quickly, put that thing away. #60 I don't want to see it. #61 I'll be
quiet #62 Just keep that thing away from me.' [G.Z.]

(17) #174 Izureniseyo, *anata* ni yuuki o dasiteitadakunoga daiiti desu.
anyway you for courage OBJ pull out-POLITE first be
#139 'Whichever you do, you must be brave and face your problem.' [A.K.]

In (16) a young man is talking to a thief who attacked him. He never used the first-person and second-person pronouns even though they are total strangers and therefore the psychological distance between them must be quite wide. While in (17) a middle-aged psychoanalyst said this to his young patient in an assuring tone after the consultation. The psychological distance he feels toward this young lady must not be wide, and the first-person subject is unmarked. Yet he used *anata* 'you.' It may be because the situation is formal.

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CODE SWITCHING AND CODE MIXING AS A COMMUNICATIVE STRATEGY IN MULTILINGUAL DISCOURSE.

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The importance of code switching and code mixing in the study of language contact has long been recognized. Up till now, the data on code switching and mixing have generally been analyzed in terms of one of the following approaches: (a) the linguistic constraints that determine the form of code switching and mixing, (b) the sociolinguistic functions which determine when, with whom and why code switching and mixing take place.

Despite the large body of literature already available on code switching and mixing, however, relatively little is known about how they are used as a communicative strategy in multilingual communities among proficient bilingual speakers. This paper is an attempt at filling this gap. Using spontaneous conversations which involve code switching and mixing between some of the major languages in Singapore, such as English, Mandarin, Hokkien, Teochew and Malay, I shall try to demonstrate the inadequacies of current approaches to code switching and mixing, suggest some categories for describing the total communicative effect created by code switching and mixing, and discuss some of the implications of code switching and mixing for the study of bilingualism and the indigenized varieties of English such as Singaporean English.

Various characteristics of the data analyzed in this paper together with the methodology used for the analysis should be highlighted. First, it should be emphasized that the speakers are all University graduates with a fluent command of English and an equally fluent command of the other languages used in the discourse. There is therefore no question of code switching and mixing taking place because the participants did not know how to express certain meanings in one of the languages concerned. We are concerned here not with 'semilingualism' but 'bilingualism' where 'bilingualism' is taken to mean 'fluency in two or more languages'. Second, the spoken texts represent spontaneous, authentic conversations. Third, there is nothing in the exchanges as a whole to indicate that the speakers do not understand each other. In short, apart from the alternation of codes itself, the spoken texts have all the earmarks of ordinary conversations in a single language. As for the methodology used in the analysis, it should perhaps be pointed out that it is essential that the investigator work closely with at least one of

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the participants who was present when the conversations were taped. The initial transcriptions were made by a graduate student who had considerable training in sociolinguistics and phonetics and who herself was a fluent bilingual.[1] She was also consulted about where non-verbal gestures were used in the conversations, and whether the glosses in English reflected the meanings conveyed in the other languages. Such detailed checking was carried out because it was felt that a reliable interpretation of the meaning of the conversations could not have been arrived at otherwise.

Some of the distinctions made in the research on code switching and mixing seem so established that it seems foolhardy to try and question them. However, some of these distinctions, although perhaps useful for descriptions of code switching in other circumstances involving other languages, do not appear to be either valid or useful when applied to my data. The first such distinction is that between code switching and mixing. Code switching is generally considered to be inter-sentential whereas code mixing is intra-sentential. Thus while code switching involves the embedding or mixing of words, phrases and sentences from two codes within the same speech event and across sentence boundaries, code mixing involves the embedding or mixing of various linguistics units, i.e. morphemes, words, phrases and clauses from two distinct grammatical systems or sub-systems within the same sentence and the same speech situation. Sridhar and Sridhar (1980) go so far as to point out that this distinction is not merely convenient but necessary because the two phenomena make different linguistic and psycholinguistic claims.

The difficulty of making this distinction fit my data is apparent if we look particularly at examples 4 and 8. (All examples are given in the Appendix). Part of (4) appears to be code switching and part code mixing. Thus the first sentence *Oh I see, guài bǔ dé* appears to be code mixing with the first part being English, and the second Mandarin. This is followed by a sentence in Mandarin and another in Hokkien expressing almost the same idea. As these are inter-sentential, they should presumably be classified as examples of code switching. The next sentence is made up of one Mandarin word meaning 'if' followed by a subordinate clause in which the verb and adverb are in English but in which a Mandarin particle is inserted, followed by the main clause in Hokkien. This is presumably an example of code mixing again. The next two switches, however, occur inter-sententially. The first is Mandarin, the second is English, and should, presumably, be classified as code switching. Yet to classify the entire exchange in this way, as an alternation between code switching and code mixing, seems counter-intuitive. It breaks up the

discourse in a way which does not reflect the total communicative impact. Example 8 illustrates the same 'unnaturalness' in making the distinction between code switching and code mixing.

Another difficulty connected with trying to make a distinction between code switching and mixing is the difficulty of telling grammatical systems apart. In multilingual communities such as Singapore, describing the systems in terms of standard English and standard Mandarin in informal situations seems totally irrelevant in analyzing data on code switching. Unlike the Philippines, where code mixing known as Mix-Mix characterizes not only informal intercourse but formal exchanges as well, in Singapore, code switching is essentially a characteristic of informal conversation. In such informal situations, the systems tend to merge and evolve common characteristics, but unfortunately so little is known about how, for example, informal Singaporean English resembles informal Singaporean Mandarin or Teochew or Hokkien. In this paper, I can do no more than suggest one way in which these systems merge - namely through the use of particles, and common categories of tense and aspect, number and concord. Examples (5) and (6) illustrate some of these common characteristics. In example (5), B begins with a question which reflects the typical structure of a yes-no question in informal Singaporean English: there is the use of the question particle /a/ with a rising intonation and the deletion of the copula. A answers in English but then immediately switches to Teochew. B obviously understands the Teochew perfectly but prefers to speak Hokkien as she is more at home in this language. So her rejoinder is in Hokkien. This in turn triggers off a response from D also in Hokkien, even though D is Teochew. Although the languages here may seem to be fairly clearly demarcated (Hokkien and Teochew are, to a considerable extent, mutually intelligible only among Hokkien and Teochew speakers, and have certain predictable phonological and lexical differences), it is difficult to ascertain which language the particles belong to, as the particles /le/, /a/ and /wa/ occur also in purely English discourse in informal situations in Singapore. This point becomes clearer when we look at Example (6). Here the discourse is obviously English, again typifying informal Singaporean English, with particles in almost every sentence. Although these particles such as /ha/, /lo/, /la/ and /e/ may have originated in Hokkien, they have taken on a wide range of semantic meanings when used in Singaporean English. Non-Chinese Singaporeans are also aware of the existence of these particles in Singaporean English and seem familiar with the meanings conveyed by their use. Non Singaporeans, however, do not even hear

these particles and consequently find these conversations very hard to comprehend.

Another distinction, that between code mixing and borrowing, also presents problems for the data collected. While borrowing is generally said to fill lexical gaps in the host language, code mixing does not fill gaps in the host language. Code mixing is not restricted to a more or less limited set of utterances accepted by the speech community of the host language but has the 'entire second (i.e. guest) language system at the disposal of the code mixer', and phonological and morphological assimilation of the mixed elements is not necessary. Another dimension of the distinction is that borrowing can occur in the speech of monolinguals, bilinguals and multilinguals (Sridhar and Sridhar 1980; Kachru 1982). The distinction seems a useful one but the criteria used by Sridhar and Sridhar and Kachru seem not to be relevant in the Singapore context. The question is not one of lexical gaps in the host language but whether the speaker habitually uses this particular item in a particular language. Thus in example 1, *lembaga peperiksaan* has the same meaning as *board of examiners* in English, and in example 3, *guru bahasa* has the same meaning as *language teacher* in English, but as the speaker works in Malaysia, it is customary to use the Malay terms because Malay is the medium of instruction in all educational institutions. So the speaker, probably unconsciously, switches to Malay when using these terms. This does not mean, however, that the code mixer, a non-Malay in this case, has the entire Malay language system at his/her disposal. Varying degrees of ability to code switch would need to be recognised here. For the bilingual who is fluent in English and Malay, the whole Malay language would seem to be at his/her disposal, but for many others, there would still be a 'common core' of Malay items at their disposal. Examples (2), (10) and (15) give further examples of such 'common core' items from Hokkien, Cantonese, and Hokkien respectively, which would seem to be in the vocabulary of all Singaporeans. The words *kaypo*, *tshi sĩn* and *Tshi ko pè?k* are readily understood by even the non-Chinese Singaporeans. The line between code mixing and borrowing in such cases is almost impossible to draw. In all such cases, the participants immersed in the interaction are often quite unaware of which code is used, but to classify these examples along with the type of code mixing as the type found, for example, in examples (4) and (7) is somewhat misleading.

Among the linguistic constraints which are said to determine the form used in code switching and mixing, mention should be made of the equivalence constraint and the free morpheme constraint. According to Poplack (1980:586), "code

switches will tend to occur at points in the discourse where juxtaposition of L1 and L2 elements does not violate a syntactic rule of either language, i.e. at points around which the surface structures of the two languages map on to each other." In a later work, Poplack modified her position and restated it as follows: "A switch is inhibited from occurring within a constituent generated by a rule from one language which is not shared by the other." (Poplack 1982). Both versions of this equivalence constraint have been proved to be untenable in several code mixed language varieties (Sridhar and Sridhar 1980; Nartey 1982; El-Nory 1985). Sridhar and Sridhar (1980) have further modified the equivalence constraint by introducing the dual structure principle which may be stated as follows: "The internal structure of the quest constituent need not conform to the constituent structure rules of the host language, so long as its placement in the host sentence obeys the rules of the host language." A number of examples from the data collected in Singapore seem to violate even this modified version of the equivalence constraint principle. Example (13) violates the structure of both the host and the guest language. The last sentence spoken by (1) is: *maybe, nang m tsai interview i náng, how they do /mâ/.* According to English structure, one would expect: *maybe, we do not know what the interviewers do*; according to Teochew, we would expect: *nàng m̄ tsai i náng mēng wēi kai, àn tsùa tsō mâ'* (literally, in English, we not know interviewers, they, how do). The code mixed example seems to obey neither the rules of English nor Teochew but has its own structure. Another example is (14) where the sentence: *So then later when i é final time wà thòi liòu, wā , actually sì i nàng iò ngia, but lī thòi, lī glance through /hó /, júedé i nàng Western kái kiou pē iō mēng /hɔ /.* Here again, the code mixed example follows neither the word order of Teochew nor that of English.

Another linguistic constraint, that of the free morpheme constraint, states that "codes may be switched after any constituent in discourse provided that the constituent is not a bound morpheme." (Poplack 1980:585-6). A later version of this constraint is stated as follows: "A switch is prohibited from occurring between a bound morpheme and lexical form unless the latter has been phonologically integrated into the language of the former." Counter examples of such a constraint are found in the fairly widespread use of such expressions as *kuning* where the bound morpheme *-ing* in English is attached to the Hokkien word *kun* meaning *sleep*, a vocabulary item quite common among undergraduates at the University and secondary school students in Singapore. Other examples are *salarity* from Malay *salah* meaning *wrong* and the bound morpheme *-ity* in English. True, these examples are often used to create comic effect but they need not always be so.

Those who use *kuning* often are not aware of the sources from which the word comes although they know what it means.

Apart from approaches which try to explain the form of code switching and mixing in terms of linguistic constraints, a large body of data is available on the functions of conversational code switching. Thus Gumperz (1982:75) claims that "switching serves roughly similar functions in different situations, so that a single preliminary typology can be set up which holds across language situations." Some of these functions are well attested by the data from Singapore although others are not. Each of these functions will now be discussed in turn.

Quotations

Gumperz (1982:75-6) claims that "in any instances, the codeswitched passages are clearly identifiable either as direct quotations or as reported speech." This is generally well attested by the data from Singapore. For example, in (11), the switch to Mandarin *dà cǎng miàn* is obviously triggered by the consideration that these were the actual words said by the people that A is quoting. Where the quotations were originally in a code mixed variety, they also appear in reported speech in the same variety.

Addressee specification

It is well known that this function explains switches which serve to direct the message to one of several possible addressees. An example of this function is found in (7) where D addresses B in Hokkien *kào tiàm (nine o'clock)* and A in Teochew *lì̍ khi̍ á (you go)* even though at this point in the conversation, the difference between Teochew and Hokkien is a minor one, with Teochew having the centralized vowel [ɨ] and Hokkien the front vowel [i]. Addressee specification, however, seems to account only for this solitary example and no attention seems to be paid to it in the other conversations. This is particularly interesting since C is a Cantonese speaker and does not know as much Hokkien and Teochew as A, B and D. What is even more interesting is that C participates in the conversation as if she understood everything that has been going on, even though she herself does not code switch. The switch to Cantonese by D in example (10) is not even directed to her but to B, a Hokkien speaker.

Interjections

According to this function, the code switch serves to mark an interjection or sentence filler. In the data from Singapore, numerous particles are found in conversation irrespective of what is the predominant language used. These, it would seem are the result of various languages merging in contact with one another and evolving a common code with a common vocabulary. To treat such particles as mere interjections or sentence fillers seems counter-intuitive. People who have newly arrived in Singapore or who are not familiar with the meaning potential of these particles can, at best, grasp only part of the message contained in informal conversations. Attitudes are particularly difficult to interpret especially since these are conveyed almost solely by the particles. The usual redundancies are missing as are the well known intonation patterns found in the established varieties of English.

Reiteration

Frequently, a message in one code is repeated in the other code, either literally or in somewhat modified form. In some cases, such repetitions may serve to clarify what is said, but often they simply amplify or emphasize a message. Despite the difficulty in identifying codes in many instances, where reiteration does take place, a switch in code seems more clearly demarcated. Examples are found in (4) where the third sentence in Hokkien is a colourful amplification of the second more matter-of-fact sentence in Mandarin. Interestingly enough, although the topic is about writing in English, no English is used at this stage. This may have been because the addressee is more proficient in Mandarin and Hokkien than in English, a consideration which seems to be more important than choice of topic in the choice of a code. Another example of reiteration is found in (9) where the English expression *significance different* is an amplification of the Teochew *mn̄ pε̄ ī̄o* .

Message qualification

According to Gumperz, a large group of switches consist of qualifying constructions such as sentence and verb complements or predicates following a copula. In such cases, the main message is in language X, whereas a qualification of the message is given in language Y. No examples were found of this category in the data from Singapore. There are various ways of qualifying a message but code switching does not seem to be one of them.

Personalization versus objectivization

This dichotomy suggests a difference between talk about action and talk as action, the degree of speaker involvement or distance from a message, whether a statement reflects personal opinion or knowledge or whether it refers to specific instances or has the authority of a generally known fact. This is perhaps the most useful of the categories listed so far, possibly because it focuses on the communicative rather than the purely formal or purely functional aspects of code switching or mixing. The choice of language used here, however, does not merely involve the choice of a code. It is not always the case that formal discussions, for example, are invariably in Mandarin or English, languages which represent the 'high' varieties, and informal discussion in the low languages such as Hokkien and Teochew. However, the varying degrees of personal involvement in the same topic, for example, the discussion of the Miss Universe beauty pageant, probably explains the frequent switches between English and the other languages. Typically, the more involved the speaker became and the more determined she was about making her comments and criticisms known, the more Teochew and Hokkien appeared in the discourse.

It should be evident, from the preceding discussion, that the writer is of the opinion that neither a purely formal approach such as the search for linguistic constraints nor a purely functional approach such as making a list of functional categories gets to the heart of code switching or mixing. In multilingual communities, in exchanges among fluent bilinguals, code switching is basically a communicative device in which the bilingual's creativity is put to advantage. Rather than trying to delineate where one code ends and another begins, it is perhaps more insightful to study the communicative aspects of code switching which obviously have to involve both form and function. Perhaps we have been asking the wrong questions about code switching and mixing. Instead of asking: when does speaker A use language X, to whom, and why? we should think of languages in a multilingual community as sharing a common core vocabulary which may have originated from a variety of languages but which the multilingual speaker can draw from, irrespective of whether he/she can speak the original languages. Examples of such expressions are: *sue khuan, bahru, suka, tshi sin , tsi ko pe?k , blur king , kuning* , etc. An important part of the vocabulary used in code switching or mixing will consist of this common core vocabulary. In the same way, there may be said to be a common grammatical system which shares the same categories of tense,

aspect, number and concord. Thus, the similarities between Singaporean English, Singaporean Malay, Singaporean Mandarin, etc. can be explained satisfactorily.

On the functional plane, it should be stressed that the typical code switcher or code mixer is usually not aware of why he/she switches codes at certain points of the discourse, and to try and evolve a functional typology to fit all situations would therefore seem futile. Instead, I woud like to suggest that we look at the total communicative impact created by the discourse as discourse and ask questions such as: is the speaker trying to establish rapport or is he/she distancing himself/herself? Is he/she trying to establish himself/herself as a member of the in-group or is he/she distancing himself/herself? Is he/she elaborating on a message? How is he/she doing it? Is he/she reaffirming something he/she has said earlier or something that someone else said earlier? How is he/she doing this? What are the attitudes he/she wishes to convey in the communication?

When we have determined the communicative intent of the bilingual speakers concerned, we might then be able to look at the various strategies used by them and see how codes are manipulated to achieve these purposes. First, in order to establish rapport with other participants, there is the use of informal particles such as /la/, /ha/, /a/ if the speakers are from other ethnic groups, and other particles such as /lo/, /le/, /ma/, and /me/ if the participants speak or understand some dialect of Chinese. The meaning of these particles would appear to be very important in all informal discourse among Singaporean speakers, but regrettably very little research has been done in this area. Apart from the pioneering work by Richards and Tay (1977) on the *la* particle, the sequel by Kwan Terry (1978), and Bell and Ser (1983), the work by Smith (1985) on the *what* particle, and the *la* particle (again!) by Loke and Low (forthcoming), these particles have not been studied for the very rich way in which they can convey the attitudes of the speaker. Group identity and solidarity can be marked by the use of the relevant dialect if the participants share the same code, e.g. Teochew in the examples given. This marking of solidarity, however, is not confined to specific codes. The way in which English is spoken by participants who wish to mark themselves as members of the same group is not only to use a common core vocabulary but a common core grammatical and phonological system, a system which the non-Singaporean finds extremely difficult to understand.

Second, in elaborating upon a message, no single code at any one point in time will be considered 'the' obvious choice. We have seen examples of how elaborating upon a message may be done with the same code or across different languages. Their effectiveness as a communicative strategy does not depend on

the choice of the code as such but on considerations such as: which code has the most colourful, most expressive, shortest, most economic way of repeating or elaborating upon what was said earlier. It should be obvious from the English glosses that many of the translations are much longer and lose much by way of expressiveness. The creativity latent in many bilinguals leads the participants not only to use one code for this purpose, but to modify for example the type of English or the type of Mandarin or the type of Teochew used. In this area, it is not just the pronunciation that is different - in fact, pronunciation (and phonology in general) is the least interesting change but one that is easily noticeable. Instead, the extended meanings given to lexical innovations, especially connotative as opposed to denotative meanings, merit much closer study than has been undertaken so far.

Finally, the way attitudes are conveyed through code switching and mixing is a vast area which, I feel, is under-researched. Again, the use of particles seems to take the place of intonation patterns so that non-Singaporeans who do not understand the meanings of these particles find it extremely difficult to figure out the attitudes conveyed. In fact, the whole question of shared assumptions, cultural or otherwise, explains not only why the participants laugh at certain points in the discourse, but also why non-verbal gestures were used so profusely. In fact, so many non-verbal gestures were used in may data that if one of the graduates present in the discourse had not explained what went on at each stage, it would have been very difficult, even for me, a Singaporean, to interpret the discourse.

In conclusion, I should like to stress that approaching code switching and code mixing from the perspective of their use as communicative strategies rather than as purely formal or purely functional characteristics would shed new light on both the study of new varieties of English and the study of bilingualism.

With regard to the study of new varieties of English, my data on code switching further strengthens the position I had taken in earlier papers (Tay 1986a, 1986b) that these varieties should not be treated as deviant forms of some native variety, but as independent systems. Much of the meaning potential that is contained, for example, in the particles, and in the use of English in code-mixed/code-switched utterances would have been lost if Singaporean English were considered merely a deviant form of British English. The treatment of Singaporean English as a learner variety is also unsatisfactory because it fails to capture the essential difference in motivation between two very different types of code switching, one motivated by inadequate vocabulary on the part of the genuine learner, and the other motivated by the desire to communicate as effectively and

expressively as possible on the part of the fluent bilingual as demonstrated in this paper.

As for the study of bilingualism, this paper provides detailed exemplification of what Kachru calls "the bilingual's creativity" or the linguistic creativity exhibited by non-monolinguals. Not only is this evident in "contact literatures" (Kachru 1986) but also in contact linguistic situations such as those demonstrated in this paper. It seems logical, therefore, to conclude that Singaporean English has become far richer than, for example, British English, because of its contact with other languages spoken in Singapore; Singaporean Mandarin is also far richer than, for example, Peking Mandarin for the same reason. We need to evolve bilingual norms for the description and analysis of bilingual phenomena such as the type of code switching and code mixing demonstrated in this paper. We also need to pay far more attention to bilingual discourse than has hitherto been customary. Instead of merely documenting purely formal or purely functional characteristics of bilingual speech, there is the urgent need to look at bilingual speech as primarily an act of communication. Thus those functions which are 'communicative' rather than 'ritualistic' will be most relevant to the study of bilingualism. Similarly, form is to be perceived as the outcome of communication rather than as the focus of bilingual speech.

NOTES

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APPENDIX: Examples of code switching and mixing

(1) No, we only had the *Lembaga Peperiksaan (Malay for Board of Examiners).*

(2) Noraini *kaypo* (Hokkien for *busybody*) *ah* (particle used in informal Singaporean English) complains one *la* (particle used in informal Singaporean English).

(3) Well, confirmed as a *guru bahasa* (Malay for *language teacher*)

(4) Oh I see, *guài bù dé* (Mandarin for *no wonder*) .. *wǒ xiě ying wén bǐ jiào kuài* (Mandarin for *I write faster in English*), *gùa sia eng bóon lūan jù tu lūan jù sia* (Hokkien for *when I write English, I simply scribble and write, carelessly*, *jīaru* (Mandarin for *if*) move *dé* (Mandarin particle) fast, *bō tèk khàk o* (Hokkien for *not sure*). *Duì bù qǐ* (Mandarin for *sorry*). I got to go.

Participants in Examples (5) - (15) are as follows:

A: Computer science graduate, just found a job (Teochew)
B: Accountancy graduate, looking for a job. (Hokkien)
C: Accountancy graduate, has been working for a week. (Cantonese)
D: Arts graduate, (Teochew)

(5) B: That fella/lɛ /, not coming /ā/?
A: No. *wà tàng kà i bō siou sèk, siān /a/, tsō wà tsào wà tsào lái* (Teochew for 'I waited for such a long time and yet there was no news from him. So I came).
B: /Wà/, *buē phai* /le/. (Hokkien expression showing approval of A's attitude).
D: *é sài* /le/, *ē sài*. (Hokkien, agreeing with B).

(6) C: PSA do what?
A: /hā/? (what did you say?)
C: Do what?
A: Systems analyst /lō/ (implying, 'what else?)
C: /hǎ/ (Is that so?).
A: programmer /lǎ/
B: /è/, (Attention-getting signal), I'm starting to work you know, Monday.
A: /hǎ/. (Is that so?)
B: DBS. (Development Bank of Singapore)
A: /hā/. (Higher falling pitch, indicating surprise). As what?
B: As a temp (temporary staff).
(everybody laughs)
tsin é, bo phīan lí é (Hokkien for 'Its true, I'm not having you on!)
A: *tsin é kè é*? (Hokkien for 'is it really true?')
B: *tsin é* (Hokkien for 'true'), employment agency /mā/ (particle meaning 'no big deal' in this context).

(7) D: Everyday, you know *kào tiam* (Hokkien for 'nine o' clock) *lǐ̀ khǐ̌ á* (Teochew for 'you go'), everybody /wa/ (Non-verbal gesture here showing people reading books).
C: Oh, serious /ǎ/?

(8) B: *an ni tsūe láng*, (Hokkien for *so many people*), nothing /wāt/.
D: *bō hèng tshū lā, an ni tsūe láng nā lè tsī , khùe sio nīa* . These people *kè kè* come near, *aī yā, tsin kāo wè, mm̄ sio m̄ pàt*. (Hokkien for *I'm not interested. What is the point of having your photograph taken when there are so many people crowding around? They come near you and you feel uncomfortable since you do not know them at all*).

(9) (A points to C's heart-shaped pendant. A is also wearing one - her birthday present from her boyfriend).

A: (to D) *kā wà pɛ̃ iŏ* (Teochew for *same as mine*)
D: *m̄m pɛ̃ iŏ* (Teochew for *not the same*) significance different!
C: Ya, different significance.
D: (laughs). *tshī kèk* (Hokkien exclamation expressing attitude of annoyance, disgust, frustration, etc.)
B: And hers is smaller. Yours is a bigger heart.

(10) D: But hundred percent is complete already /wāt/.
A &C: Ya!
B: Then he still demand another twenty five percent, you know.
D: *tshi sīn* . (Cantonese for *crazy*).
B: Too much, you know.

(11) A: /è/, this kind of thing you know *wà sǐ siāng lɔ wà siang té lɔ liàu* . Organize *tsi khǐ mīng kiā cī lí bù tǎo hǎo* /é/. Then you know my ideas always different from them one, you know. They go for lucky draw must go and buy thirty ping pong balls come and draw. I say *just draw lots* /lɔ/. *an ni khùan*. Then they say *dà cāng mian*. /ā/. Sick. (*wà sǐ siāng lɔ wà siang té lɔ liàu* = Hokkien for *I hate this most, I hate this the most*; *tsi khi mīng kiā* = Hokkien for *this kind of thing*; *cī lí bù tǎo hǎo* = Mandarin for *you put in so much effort and get so little in return for it*, *dà cāng mian* = Mandarin for *formal occasion*).

(12) (Discussion of Miss Universe beauty pageant held in Singapore recently).
D: I think *nā* Singapore /hǎ/, you want to keep your complexion nice, it's not easy. (Hokkien *nā* = in, at, *hā* = particle indicating topic marker).
A,B,C: /ā/ (indicating agreement).
D: It's our food you know.
C: No, our weather!
D: /yà lá/, food and weather!
A: Food and weather, really... /è yè/, so nice you know, they all *ngǒukāi lōng būe phài* (Teochew expression showing approval of all 5 people).
B: *li su kà siáng?* (Hokkien for, *Who do you like? suka* = Malay word but with Hokkien tones here).
A: *wà júe dé i ū qi zi* /le/, *bue me*?
(Teochew: wà = I, *i ū* = she has, *būe mɛ̃* = isn't it so?
Mandarin: *júe dé* = I think/feel, *qi zi* = deportment).

(13) C: Actually, (name of country) quite...
A: Ah, (name of country) not bad.
C: But the way she walk is so horrible.
D: /ya/. *i būe hiào kiā lō, kiā si láng*
(Hokkien for *she doesn't know how to walk elegantly*).
A: Actually not bad /lā/, one, two, three, all okay /la/.
lóng tsǒng . (Teochew for *all*). May be *náng mn̄ tsai* (Teochew for *we do not know*) interview *i náng* (Teochew for *they*) how they do/mā/.

(14) A: At first /hɔ̃/, *wà thăo tsĭk pài thoĭ̀* Miss Universe *kāi sí, wà sĭjúe dé i nàng hìa é* blonde hair/hɔ̃/, *lóng tsŏng júe dè pɛ̃ io meng* /lɛ̃ /, *bā lù sì dŏng fāng* /hɔ̃/, *kiòu tā̀ iò the tshù pɛ̃ ló bɔ.* So then later when *i é* final time, *wà thŏi liòu,* /wa/, actually *sì i nàng iò ngĭa* but *lĭ̀ thoĭ̀ , lĭ* glance through /hɔ́/ *lĭ júe dé i nàng Western kái kiou pɛ̃ io meng* /hɔ́ /. All the same.

(/hɔ́/ = particle seeking agreement;
wà thăo tsĭk pài thŏi = Teochew for *the first time I looked!*
kāi sí = Teochew for *the time when;*
wà sì = Teochew for *I* + copula;
júe dé = Mandarin for *feel, think*
inàng hìa é = Teochew for *they, those;*
lóng tsŏng = Teochew for *all;*
pɛ̃ io meng = Teochew for *same kind (of) face,* (i.e. look alike)
bā lù = Malay for *only* but with Teochew tones here);
sì = Teochew for copula
dŏng fāng = Mandarin for *the East;*
kiòu tā̀ iò = Teochew for *may be said to be more...;*
thà tshù = Mandarin for *stand out.*
pɛ̃ ló bɔ. = Teochew for *same type, is it not?*
i é = Teochew for *3rd person sg.* + possessive particle, literally *its;*
wà thŏi liòu = Teochew for *I had already looked;*
/wa/ = interjection, exclamation;
sì i nang iò ngĭa = Teochew for *it's they (who are) more pretty;*
lĭ̀ thoĭ̀ = Teochew for *you look;*
lĭ = Teochew for 'you';
júe dé = Mandarin for *feel, think;*
i nàng = Teochew for *they;*
kái = Teochew particle indicating possession.
kiou pɛ̃ io meng = Teochew for *more same type (of) face.*)

(At first, when I first watched Miss Universe, I felt that those with blonde hair, I felt they all look alike. It is only the Easterners who may be said to stand out and don't look alike. So then later when it was time for the finals, I looked, and wow! actually it is they who are prettier. But when you look, when you catch a glimpse of them, you think that they, the Westerners, look more alike. Isn't that so? All the same).

(15) B: eyes okay.
D: *kā sì láng* (Hokkien for *bite people to death)*
B: *an ni khùan khuā̃ li tŏ tò liàu.* (Hokkien for *she looks at you like this, and you're finished*).
D: /ā/, *tshi ko pèk* (Hokkien meaning *dirty old man*; *tshi ko* may be derived from English *cheeky* but with extended meaning) all of us.

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TEACHING ENGLISH AS A SECOND LANGUAGE IN INDIA - A SOCIO-FUNCTIONAL VIEW

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This paper is concerned with exploring a socio-functional approach to the teaching and learning of English in a multilingual setting. Underlying this approach is the hypothesis that learning English as a second language in India means learning "how to mean" in a new socio-cultural environment. "A functional approach to language" according to Halliday (1973:7) "means ... investigating how language is used: trying to find out what are the purposes that language serves for us, and how we are able to achieve these purposes through speaking and listening, reading and writing". It may therefore be useful to find answers to the following questions:

(a) what are the topics and situations that necessitate the use of English in India today?

(b) who are the people who use English?

(c) how has English been shaped by its functions in the Indian setting?

In Verma (1984:2) it has been claimed that "Languages in contact in a multilingual setting form a system network. Each language in this network represents a bundle of features and has a contrastive value based on the role(s) played and functions performed by it relative to the roles played and functions performed by other languages". It is the setting that assigns roles to languages in contact. It is on the basis of roles that languages are subcategorized into: Mother tongue, First language, Second language and Foreign language. Each role has a cluster of functions attached to it. Some of these functions are sociopolitically determined, for example, English, it has been said, will continue to function as the associate official language of the country: the dominant state language will function as the medium of instruction up to the highest level in the states; Central Schools will have a bilingual medium of instruction - Hindi and/or English in humanities and social sciences and English in Science and Technology.

The Indian linguistic scene has tempted researchers to call India 'a sociolinguistic area', 'a linguistic giant' and 'a language laboratory'. The multilingual and pluricultural nature of the socio-cultural settings in India makes it clear that it needs more than one language for 'national cohesion', 'cultural integration', and 'social and areal mobility'. Different languages have different roles

to play. The mother tongue has a role to play; the regional language has a role to play; Hindi has a role to play; English has a role to play; foreign and classical languages have roles to play. They are complementary. They can and should co-exist peacefully. This brings us to the notion of 'link language' in the Indian setting - a language that can function as a binder. In a multilingual setting what is needed is not just one link language but layers of inter-related link languages: L1 or the mother tongue as the intragroup link language (for example, Marathi as the intragroup link language for the Maharashtrians living in Andhra Pradesh); the dominant regional language or the state-level official language as the regional/state link language (for example, Teluga as the state link language in Andhra Pradesh); the dominant national language or the national official language as the national link language (for example, Hindi as the national link language); the dominant international language as the international link language (for example, English as the international link language for a vast majority of educated Indians). In a multilingual society in which all the major languages are given the status of national languages, socio-political tugs and pulls may force a nation to accept an exoglossic language as an associate or auxiliary link language: this is one of functions of English at the national level in India today. It must, however, be added that it is restricted to educated, urban, English-based bilinguals. The question then is: how many languages should we have and in what order? The number and hierarchial ordering of languages are bound to differ from region to region. What is crucial for maintaining 'unity in the midst of diversity' is not the philosophy underlying the concept of 'melting pot' but the philosophy underlying the image of 'salad bowl' where each language has its characteristic features and yet it contributes to the richness of the overall pattern.

It has already been said that languages in a multilingual setting form a system network and each language or language variety in this network has a system-determined value. The assignment of a new value to the regional languages, that is making them function as the medium of education up to the highest levels, is bound to bring in a change in the system network. It will mean assigning a new set of functional values to English and the other Indian languages in contact.

English has been used for years as the associate official language of the country, the associate medium of higher education, and also as the main international link language. "It is used by a community of people and institutions in India for interpersonal and inter-institutional communication in a wide range of contexts." These users are (Verma,1982:174):

1. University and college students, and school students (trained at English medium schools);
2. Teachers teaching at schools, colleges, and universities;
3. Officers and clerks working at all-India establishments; prestigious state establishments, railway, postal, shipping, airlines, and travel offices;
4. Mid-level and high-level workers working at prestigious hotels, restaurants and business establishments;
5. Scholars participating in all-India seminars, workshops and conferences;
6. All-India newspapers, magazines and journals;
7. All-India bodies (governmental and non-governmental) communicating with state-level bodies;
8. All-India bodies conducting competitive examinations for recruitment to all-India services;
9. Doctors, lawyers, and other professionals conducting their business;
10. Members of prestigious clubs and other recreation centres, and
11. Creative writers writing their novels, stories, plays, poems, and essays in English.

These users have used English in a variety of settings including types of situations to which it has previously been unadapted. We will now see whether English in India has been shaped by use, and if so, in what ways. English with its own phonological, syntactic, morphological, and lexico-semantic systems has been functioning in our socio-cultural and sociolinguistic setting for more than two hundred years. The linguistic systems of English have interacted with the linguistic systems of the major Indian languages. The socio-cultural systems underlying English have interacted with the socio-cultural systems underlying the major Indian languages. These interactions have generated a new variety of English with its own sub-varieties. In the process of using English, which has been a vehicle of Western culture, as a tool of Indian culture and Indian patterns of life, we have been slowly but definitely reshaping the language. It is the setting that gives a language its distinctive colour and flavour (Verma, 1984:19). There is no reason to feel that English in India is or will be less effective or less efficient as a system of communication than English in the United Kingdom or the United States of America but there is every reason to say that it is and will continue to be different from the other varieties of English. Gumperz (1964:1116-1117), highlighting the Indianness of Indian English, says: "An Indian may speak English with control; he may read it, write it and lecture in it with great success. But when he uses English in India, his speech will share some of the features of the other Indian codes with which English

alternates in the daily round of activities. Indian English will thus deviate considerably from the norms current among the native speakers of English in the American Midwest. This kind of deviation represents not a failure to control English, but a natural consequence of the social conditions in the immediate environment in which Indian English is spoken". According to Haugen, "a local variety of English such as Indian English is influenced by the perception of English as a tool for nationhood, and reflects the modification of overseas English as the social and cultural mores of the country are accommodated" (Richards 1979:110).

Consider the following:

1. (a) May she have a hundred male issues.
   (Raja Rao: *The Cow of the Barricades and other Stories*)
   (b) Shut up, Saley; stop your tain, tain
   (M.R.Anand: *The Sword and the Sickle)*
   (c) My Professor will eat me up.
   (R.K.Narayan: *Bachelor of Arts)*
   (d) O Maharaj, we are all lickers of your feet.
   (B.Bhattacharya: *He who rides a tiger)*
   (e) Sardar Sahib, you are a big man and we are but small radishes from am unknown garden.
   (Kushwant Singh: *I shall not hear the nightingales*)

2. (a) What's your good name?
   (b) My Mrs is not well.
   (c) Respected Doctor Saheb! May god bless you with a son!

3. (a) I am having a new car.
   (b) When he left for his native place?
   (c) I will come by walk.
   (d) We had a party. We enjoyed very much.

4. But one person who is the ekdum dukhi at Ms Agnihotri's fate is Smita Patil (*Star Dust*, April 1985:19).

In 1(a)-(e) the Indian novelists have used, what they consider to be English equivalents of what the characters would have said in their mother tongues. Mulk Raj Anand has clearly stated that he found, while writing spontaneously, that he was invariably translating dialogues from the original Punjabi into English. Some of

Anand's and Kushwant Singh's expressions are so deeply rooted in the local soil that they are not easily understood even by the speakers of the Dravidian languages in India. R. K. Narayan has said that "we are not attempting to write Anglo-Saxon English. The English language ... is now undergoing a process of Indianization in the same manner as it adopted U.S. citizenship over a century ago, with the difference that it is the major language there but here one of the fifteen listed in the Indian constitution" (Narayan, 1965:123). These new voices are externalizations of Indian experiences in a language which has thus far been viewed as a monolithic system.

2(a)-(c) are culture-bound and look maltreated in an alien language. Most of the Indian learners of English succeed in capturing the principles underlying the major categorization of the grammatical concepts in English. Learners get 'genetic help' in learning unmarked rules and forms, and hence tend to master them relatively easily, but they find it difficult to capture the subsystems and the marked forms. An unmarked form is one which accords with general tendencies in a language; a marked form is one which goes against these general tendencies, and is hence an 'exception' in some way. The learners of a second language tend to neutralize the distinction between marked and unmarked forms/major systems and subsystems. They generate a grammar in which the marked-unmarked distinctions of the target language are neutralized; the sub-systems are built into the major systems. This leads to over-generalization, generating sentences like the ones listed under 3.

Codemixing and codeswitching have been used (as in 4) as strategies to present a faithful picture of the linguistic performances of English-based bilinguals. Hindi-English bilingualism has set in motion two processes - Englishization or Anglicization of Hindi and Hindianization or Hindiazation of English. Both Anglicized Hindi and Hindiazed English represent new varieties. They draw sustenance from the socio-cultural setting of India and function as registral and stylistic devices used in bilingual communities. Language change is a continuous process of adjustment between us who use language and the socio-cultural settings in which we use it. The users of English in India have restructured English – reanalysed it and created new sets of patterns. Indian English is what it is because of the functions it performs in the Indian setting.

It is therefore necessary to recognize the distinctive properties of English in India and promote the stabilization of a pan-Indian standard based on regional literature, on radio and television, all-India newspapers and magazines, and teacher-learner interactions in classrooms. This is important because the main

objective of teaching English in our situation is not simply to make the learners learn the language skills but to enable them to play their communicative roles effectively and select languages/registers/styles according to the roles they are playing. "Teaching a second language is a process of helping our pupils make appropriate register choices out of their total register range..." Register-shift, i.e., the ability to shift registers according to shifts in situations, is one of the crucial conditions for success in handling a second language effectively. "If you do not know your lines, you are no use in the play" (Verma, 1969:299-300). The objectives of teaching English as a second language in India have to be formulated in the light of what we perceive our needs for English to be in a multilingual setting, at both the national and individual levels.

At the national level, English continues to serve as our 'window on the world'; it will continue to provide an access to the growing fund of knowledge in science, technology, social sciences and humanities and thereby function as the 'language of development' and 'upward social mobility'. Our scientists, technologists, engineers, doctors, economists, and other researchers must be able not only to have access to professional literature in English but also be able to contribute to it, and to communicate with their counterparts in other parts of the world. The continuation of English seems important if our science and technology, trade and commerce are to be truly international. As an intranational link language (restricted at the moment to urban, educated bilinguals) English is a promotor of interstate mobility contributing in some measure to national unity and integration.

As an associate official language, as the official link between the Central government and the governments of the non-Hindi speaking states, an international 'link language', the language favoured by all-India institutions, all-India conferences/seminars, the legal and banking systems, trade and commerce and defence, English has important functions to serve internally – in addition to its function as our 'window on the world'.

English may continue to be the main or associate medium of instruction in several faculties at the tertiary level. The students in these faculties will need greater proficiency in the skills of listening, writing and (perhaps) speaking in English than those students who are being taught through other languages.

Where the medium of instruction is to be some language other than English, its functions as a 'library language' and 'link language' may have to be stressed. Gokak emphasises the importance of English as a means of internal and international communication; "The tendency of regional languages to become the media of university education, though desirable in many ways, may well lead to the

isolation of such universities from the rest of India unless there is a link in the shape of an all-India language ... Such a common link can only be English or Hindi. Ultimately it will have to be Hindi ... Till such time as it happens, English may be continued". (Gokak,1964:17).

At the individual level (the level of educated individuals), English continues to be 'the language of opportunity', 'the language of upward social mobility' and the language used in transactional interactions. Any individual seeking socio-economic advancement at the national level will find ability in English an asset.

It is clear, therefore, that English has important functions in communications of diverse types. The skills of communication, will continue to be at a premium, and teaching will have to try to impart a certain minimal competence in these skills (Based on *Syllabus Reform in English:* pages 2-3).

It is important that we should be able to identify the English requirements of various groups of students precisely, and try to provide for each such group the pattern of courses which will be relevant to the needs of learners. This is important because not all students will need English to the same level of competence. It is also important that special opportunities are made available to help the weaker sections of our society to acquire an adequate competence in English, so that they do not remain for ever disadvantaged in areas of English-based higher education and in terms of upward social mobility. We must take steps to produce methods and materials designed to help students coming from tribal, rural, and other neglected sections of society who, though gifted and intelligent, feel alienated and handicapped at institutions of higher learning because they have not had the opportunity of acquiring English as a second language and hence find themselves incapable of using English as a 'library language'. Here is a great challenge for our educational institutions: they must devise tailor-made programmes in English as an instrument of education.

What we have said is that English performs a set of very important communicative functions in our multilingual setting. This should not make us believe that the Indian languages are meant for a secondary role and cannot function effectively as vehicles of scientific and technological knowledge. We are of the view that no language is inherently incapable of conveying any ideas - be they sublime or mundane, metaphysical or technological. All human languages have the potential for being developed for all the purposes that the human society and the human brain can conceive. They grow and develop by being made to function in newer contexts and newer interactional settings. As a free nation we are committed to the modernization of Indian languages so that they may serve all

those functions for which we now use English. In order to do this, we should use English as a 'source' language. The position that we have taken up in this paper is that English and the major Indian languages can and should co-exist peacefully and play their roles effectively. These roles will have to be redefined periodically in the light of the changes in the sociolinguistic needs of our country.

In order to achieve the objectives of teaching and learning English listed above, it is essential to design a variety of courses tailored to the needs of consumers; produce new materials (including audio and video materials); introduce function-based training programmes; bring in changes in our attitude to learners and their language, the system of evaluation and methodology of language-teaching. These courses, materials, and methodologies may have to be modified to meet local needs. It may mean changing the educational set-up - its physical structure, its atmosphere, its functions, its facillities, its roles and responsibilities. It will also mean modernizing and restructuring the curriculum in the light of the new needs of learners of English in different states in India today. The main focus must shift from teaching as a unidirectional, teacher-centred, knowledge-oriented activity to learning as an interactional activity, involving sub-activities like problem-solving, groupwork, drawing inferences, making generalizations, participating in a variety of other activities, with the help of L1, L2, L3. The ultimate objective of all these activities should be to develop human resources - to enable teachers and learners to play their roles effectively, helping learners acquire not only context-restricted and syllabus-bound competence in handling English but to attain that level of competence which will enable them to use it effectively according to the roles that they may have to play in a variety of situations.

The teaching and learning of English as a second language may be considered as two mutually defining aspects of the same process, for the teacher is not just a giver but also a receiver and the learner is not just a passive recipient of 'made-to-measure' packages of knowledge but also an active participant (Verma,1974:10). The activity that we call teaching cannot and should not, therefore, be perceived as a unidirectional process of transmitting or pumping information or knowledge from a full vessel into an empty vessel: the human vessels are never full and never empty. Learning a language is a process of 'knowing' and 'unfolding'. The teacher comes in as a facilitator of this process. He manages class activities, acts as an adviser, supplying the language that students need, and at other times is a "co-communicator", engaging in the communicative activities along with the students (Littlewood,1981:19). Looked at from this point of view teachers and learners are both participants in an interactional activity which

has been traditionally called 'teaching-learning'; they are both meaning-makers. The other determinants of this activity are: textual materials (spoken and written) and situational features. Knowledge is not something out there in books waiting to be 'learnt'; it is in here, in our perception and interpretation of things around us and beyond us. The meaning of what is out there is ascribed to it by its perceiver. The perceivers are meaning-makers. They make the reality they perceive rather than passively receive or reflect it. "Knowledge emerges only through invention or reinvention, through the restless, impatient, continuing, hopeful inquiry men pursue in the world, with the world, and with each other" (Freire,1972:46).

Every teacher, in the process of teaching, should create an atmosphere, which can help learners 'learn how to learn' and to engage themselves in those activities which produce knowledge: defining, questioning, observing, classifying, generalising, verifying, applying. To acquire fluency in a language, to create a system of formal and socio-cultural rules and conventions, a child must be exposed to as large a quantity and variety of 'language in action' as possible. It must, however, be remembered that a language is created anew by each child by putting together bits and pieces of environmental raw material, by moving from random guessing to principled guessing. Even when a child appears to be reproducing 'language', his performance is like that of an artist, of a creative photographer, who has his own built-in 'camera', 'lens', and 'filter' and not like that of the rat pushing a switch for food. Using a language means two things: first, having the ability to make a choice or a network of choices and putting them together, in terms of the linguistic and socio-cultural rules and conventions of the language and second, having the ability to produce texts (ranging from 'words' to 'discourse'). Every learner, it may therefore be said, creates his own socio-grammar in terms of which he recreates the language around him - expands it, simplifies it, complicates it, freezes it. The sociogrammar that he creates gets refined and expanded as a result of his encounter with new facts, old facts reperceived, and facts as interpreted by adults. Learners must have the ability to operate language as a finite system of rules and to use these rules in a variety of socio-cultural settings. It has been seen at the tertiary level in India that learners come with a lot of grammar (knowledge about the structure of English) but they often feel frustrated because they can do so little with it; they do not have the confidence to exploit the possibilities of this resource in real-life situations; they feel nervous and shaky. They can operate their system of grammar in a restricted set of contexts but have to relearn it or redefine it in order to operate it in a wider range of contexts. "They need to know that many different forms can be used to perform one function and also that a single form can serve a

variety of functions. They must be able to choose from among those, the most appropriate form, given the social context and the roles of the interlocutors. They must also be able to manage the process of negotiating meaning with their interlocutors" (Larsen-Freeman, 1986:131). This means that they must learn the pragmatics of the language in an Indian setting; they must acquire the ability to choose forms from their linguistic repertoire and put them together keeping in view the topic of discourse, addresser-addressee relationship and socio-cultural setting.

The teaching of English as a second language in India has been less successful than it might as a result of the restricted variety of linguistic contexts with which students are provided. They can produce formal essays on literary topics but find themselves ill-equipped for using English for transactional purposes. Their main problem is: what to say when and how in an Indian setting? Their proficiency in English is restricted since their experience of English has been confined to only a very small set of social domains, a very few role-relationships and a limited number of speech functions. They have been exposed to 'classroom English' or 'textbook English'. What we must keep in mind as language teachers in that exposure to a rich variety of linguistic and socio-cultural material with its focus on 'what to say when and how' is of paramount importance in second language learning.

What we are trying to suggest is that we should organize the teaching of English, or, for that matter, any other language, keeping in view its roles and functions, for teaching a second or foreign language means preparing learners to perform a specific set of tasks in a new language used in a new socio-cultural context.

We are not in favour of drawing an artificial line marking off literature from language, for we believe that language draws its life-giving nourishment from literature and literature uses language as its vehicle. The way is therefore open for a realistic reconsideration of the role of literature as a vehicle for language teaching. Should literature be in or out? This is not a real question for course designers and syllabus-framers to answer. The real questions are: what kind of literature do our learners need at different levels? what quantum of literature can and should be put into their syllabi? how should we help learners use literature for getting not only 'delight' in Dryden's sense but also for sharpening their language skills? The time has come for Professors of Literature to come out of their ivory towers, rub shoulders with the realities around them and then design a set of courses based on a series of interactions between their perception of the objectives of teaching English at the tertiary level and the needs of learners, between their notion of the study of literature for humanistic purposes and the study of literature for

the purpose of developing language skills. The reading of literary texts in the original can be an exciting experience and a powerful stimulus to further effort, provided learners have the linguistic competence to capture 'the real thing' which always lies deeply embedded in layers of language. "Language and literature", according to Sinclair, should be related very closely to each other in an English curriculum but essentially kept distinct. The distinctiveness should not be a matter of embarrassment but should be a recognition of the complementary nature of the disciplines and exploited in a broad concept of English studies. Wherever the disciplines overlap, both a literary and a linguistic input are valuable and the teaching can profit from each of these, and can attempt to integrate the two" (Sinclair,1986:91). It may be useful to explore the possibility of organising a new programme in English with the concept of a 'core course' at different levels reinforced by bunches of inter-related, need-based courses. The length of this programme (i.e. an intensive course in English) may vary from two to four years.

As already mentioned, India represents a sociolinguistic area with a variety of linguistic and cultural patterns. The problems of teaching second/foreign language in India are different from the problems of teaching the mother tongue in a monolingual setting. It is sad that in the field of English language teaching we have been consumers not producers. We have been exporting our talents and importing 'ready to use' packages based on settings and experiences entirely different from ours. We should look at the models of second/foreign language teaching being tried out in other parts of the world but we must have the courage derived from field-experience (that is, Indian experience and conditions) to change, modify, expand and even replace the model or models on the basis of our needs, our problems, and limitations, and the sociocultural setting in which we are learning and teaching English.

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LANGUAGE EDUCATION AND LITERARY CREATIVITY IN ENGLISH: A TALE OF TWO CITIES

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INTRODUCTION

Without doubt, the function that a language has in a given educational system can affect its development in that society (Halliday, 1985:1). English, by virtue of its functions in the colonial past of many societies has developed into diverse varieties. Such is a point too recognized to labour upon. But there is another way in which English has developed. Not only is it now the language of the world, there are also new bodies of literature in English growing in different parts of the world. Just as the English language is no longer the property only of England, neither is literature in English born only in the British Isles. This is to be expected as literary creativity in a language cannot be divorced from linguistic considerations. With higher standards of English proficiency as a result of education in English, the possibilities of creative writing in English multiply. Whether the members of a society are educated in English will depend on whether English has a central function in that society. The higher the status of English in a society, the more likely it is that English will be used as a medium of instruction and thus, the greater the chances of high English proficiency as a result. In turn, this will predispose the English users in that society towards creative expression in English.

Mere proficiency however is not enough for literary creativity to come about. The users of English must want - in fact, need - to express their thoughts, feelings and collective psyche in English. English has to be their language of integration, culturally and personally before literary creativity can occur.

A good comparison is Hong Kong and Singapore. Historically, both were colonies. Hong Kong still is, for another ten years. English has enjoyed a high status in both societies for more than a century. But while Singapore achieved self-government in 1959 and became an independent republic in 1965, Hong Kong will be returned to China in 1997. Their political fortunes being so dissimilar, their language education trends have also grown further and further apart. As Singapore becomes increasingly English-speaking through the propagation of English-medium education above education in ethnic languages, Hong Kong in the

last few years has been moving towards education in the mother tongue, Cantonese, supplemented by a little instruction in Mandarin in some schools.

With her colonial past almost three decades behind her, Singapore is no longer embarrassed about promoting the status and diversifying the functions of the language of her former colonial masters. Although Singaporeans have no wish to integrate with the British in the sense of adopting their culture, English is no longer merely instrumental in function (see Gardner and Lambert, 1972). English is needed to integrate the different ethnic groups in Singapore. It is needed as the language of Singaporean culture. The recent celebration on National Day with the many new patriotic songs written in English is an indication of how popular culture in English has evolved.

Hong Kong citizens, on the other hand, still feel and think in Chinese, to be precise, Cantonese. Unlike Singapore which is multi-ethnic (76.5% Chinese, 14.8% Malays, 6.4% Indians and 2.3% others, according to Sudderuddin 1985:29), Hong Kong has a population which is predominantly (98%) Cantonese-speaking. There is no need for people in Hong Kong to communicate in any language but Cantonese. In fact, if one talks to one's friends in English, one was, has been, is and will be considered snobbish. This is because English, though high in status in Hong Kong, has not enjoyed any but instrumental status. One needs to master the English language if one wants a well-paid job in the government or the commercial sector but that is all. That a high proficiency in English is desirable for career advancement in Hong Kong is not surprising in view of the fact that it is the third most important financial centre in the world, the other two being Wall Street and the City of London (Quirk, 1986:5).

Because of the difference in their political fates and demographic composition, English plays a different role in the educational systems of the two societies. In both societies it has an important role to play, but the nature of that importance is different. Thus, in spite of the fact that until recently, language syllabuses and pedagogical practices were similar, different degrees of proficiency have evolved. Because English is used in everyday informal contexts in Singapore, it has matured into a Singaporean variety of English, but in Hong Kong, we cannot really speak of a variety of English in its own right (Platt, 1982:409). As for linguistic development, so too for literary creativity; while Singapore has a growing body of local literature in English, there is no local English literature in Hong Kong (Chan, 1982).

A small survey of the staff members in the English departments in the universities in both places yielded convincing results. Questionnaires were sent to

40 respondents in each place. Twenty-five lecturers from Singapore responded while 11 lecturers from Hong Kong replied. When asked if they felt a local literature had evolved, the answer for Singapore was emphatically 'Yes' for 14 out of 25 respondents (see Table 1).

Table 1: The Existence of a Local Literature in English

	No. of Respondents	
Responses	Singapore	Hong Kong
Yes	14	0
Not quite	9	2
No	2	7
Don't know	0	2
Total	25	11

Some respondents from Singapore answered 'Not Quite' because they were skeptical either of the quality or the size of the local literature to date. But for Hong Kong, the answer was predominantly 'No' (7 out of 11) On a subsequent visit to Hong Kong, I was told that several staff members did not respond to my questionnaire because they did not know what they could say, since there was no local literature in English to speak of.

In Singapore, there was also consensus as to how the field has progressed (see Table 2). It is interesting that in Singapore as well as in Hong Kong, poetry was considered to be the genre where the most progress was made. That appears to be the trend of most emerging literatures. The number of respondents who thought that Singaporean writers had made a lot of progress even in short stories was also close to that who voted for poetry to be most developed (11 responses and 16 responses respectively). This can be because in terms of literary merit, local poetry is more recognized. It was chosen as the representative genre in the first volume on Singapore literature in the ASEAN anthologies (Thumboo et al. 1985).

Table 2: How Local Literature has Progressed

	No. of Responses	
Area in which most progress has been made	Singapore	Hong Kong
Poetry	16	4
Short Stories	11	1
Plays	1	0
Novels	0	0
Not Sure	3	3
Another Answer		
e.g. No Progress	2	3
Journalism	0	1
Total	33	12

Note: The total number of responses was greater than the number of respondents because some checked more than one answer; that is, they felt equally great progress was made in more than one area.

Short stories, however, are in general considered less esoteric and more accessible to readers with less literary training.

As to the date of the emergence of a local literature, there was less agreement in Singapore and much agreement among the Hong Kong respondents (see Table 3). The Hong Kong lecturers either replied that they were not sure or gave an emphatic 'No' (7 out of 11 responses). One respondent even wrote 'Not even an embryo yet'. The Singapore resondents, however, did not agree on the date. This is not surprising as the literature is still evolving. Depending on whether one counts early embryonic beginnings as emergence or requires quality works in abundance before one recognizes its existence, the date will vary. Some researchers have traced the beginnings to the mid 1940's (Koh, 1981 and Platt, 1982). In any case, by the 1970's, it had a recognized status. The 1970's also saw the publication of seminal collections of poetry from Malaysia and Singapore (Thumboo 1973 & 1976).

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Table 3: Date of Emergence of a Local Literature in English

	No. of Responses	
Date of Emergence	Singapore	Hong Kong
1950's	3	0
Early 1960's	4	0
Late 1960's	3	0
Early 1970's	5	0
Another Date e.g. Not Developed	2	7
Not Sure	8	4
Total	25	11

If there was some hesitation about the date of the emergence of a local literature in English, there was no doubt about who the established writers in Singapore were (see Table 4). Each respondent was asked to name five local writers. Some named fewer than five. Altogether 19 writers were mentioned by Singapore respondents, although some of these writers are Malaysians or Malaysian in origin (e.g., Ee Tiang Hong, Lloyd Fernando). Of the top five writers named by most resopondents, three (Edwin Thumboo, Arthur Yap and Lee Tzu Pheng) are poets. Catherine Lim, named by 18 respondents is noted for her short stories. Of the 25 Singapore respondents, only three could not think of any writer at all. In contrast, 8 out of 11 respondents from Hong Kong could not think of a single local writer. And of the five that were named, each by one respondent , only three were Chinese (Louise Ho, Juliet Chen and Esther Dent-Young who married an Englishman). One of them (Louise Ho) writes poetry but even some of her close friends do not know she does.

Table 4: Agreement in Recognized Writers

Singapore		Hong Kong	
Writer named by respondent	No. of resondents naming writer	Writer named by respondent	No. of respondents naming writer
Edwin Thumboo	18	Christopher New	1
Catherine Lim	18	Louise Ho	1
Arthur Yap	15	Esther Dent-Young	1
Lee Tzu Pheng	11	Austin Coates	1
Robert Yeo	7	Juliet Chen	1
Goh Poh Seng	5		
Stella Kon	3		
Gopal Baratham	3		
Virpal Singh	2		
Lloyd Fernando	2		
Leong Liew Geok	2		
Timothy Ho	1		
Tan Kok Seng	1		
Wong Swee Hoon	1		
Ee Tiang Hong	1		
Lim Thean Soo	1		
Max Le Blond	1		
Ho Min Fong	1		
Yeap Joo Khim	1		
Can't think of any writer	3		8
Total	94		13

The respondents were also asked if they could name five literary journals that published local literature in English (see Table 5).

Twelve publications were mentioned by Singapore respondents and there was general agreement as to what the most influential publications were. But on the Hong Kong side only one publication, *Imprint* , was named by one respondent who also mentioned that it ceased publication after one year. The other ten Hong

Kong respondents replied that they could not think of any literary journal that published local literature in English, at least not any of any significance.

In terms of recognized writers and literary works in English, Singapore has developed much more than Hong Kong. Another measure of literary creativity however is whether there is any literary activity among the general public. A good

Table 5: Agreement in Recognized Literary Publication - Singapore

Publication Named by Respondent	No. of Respondents Naming Publication
Singa	13
Commentary	10
Focus	8
Tengarra	4
Southeast Asian Review of English	3
Span	1
Journal of Commonwealth Literature	1
Meanjin Quarterly	1
Literary Criticism	1
ACLALS Bulletin (Special Issue)	1
New Direction	1
Singapore Book World	1
Can't think of any publication	9
Total	54

way to assess this is to compare the number of entries for literary competitions held by the government. The relevant government departments were asked if writing competitions were held. In Hong Kong, a poetry writing competition was held once in 1984 with 223 entries. No other literary competitions in English were held. In Singapore, however, many more competitions were held with a good number of participants (see Table 6).

Table 6: Literary Competitions in English - Singapore

Year	Poetry	Plays	Short Stories
1977	1152	96	-
1982	-	31	132
1983	-	10	122
1984	255	-	140
1985	-	23	141
1986	-	-	110

Note: Figures were not available for some years because competitions were not held for those categories in those years.

From the above discussion, it is evident that Singapore is much more active in literary writing in English than Hong Kong is. One cannot, however, conclude that Hong Kong people are not creative in a literary way. The same questionnaire given to Chinese departments in the universities in both places yielded quite different results. There is a rich local Chinese literature in Hong Kong, more so than in Singapore. Literary activity in Chinese and possibly in the other ethnic languages - Tamil and Malay - has suffered as literary activity in English has increased in Singapore. This is to be expected. 'Any decision to write in English presupposes a fairly sophisticated mastery of it, usually purchased at the expense of other languages'.(Thumboo, 1985:9).

In summary therefore, this comparison of Hong Kong and Singapore has illustrated that a local literature in English can emerge if English is used not just instrumentally but if it is used as the language for the integration and expression of a people's cultural identity as well. The dynamics of literary creativity in relation to language education are complex and involve politics as well as demography. What emerges clearly however is that while Hong Kong may suffer in material terms if English proficiency in her population declines, as it well may, given the present trends towards mother tongue education, Singapore has to keep working at evolving her own culture in an English metaphor because it is no longer her second tongue. It will soon be her only tongue in spite of the current bilingual policy. This is because once the people think and feel in English, the expressive functions of the other languages in Singapore will diminish in importance. Fortunately for her, the beginnings of a culture in English are there.

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A STUDY OF SCIENTIFIC PALATOGRAPHY: A COMPARISON OF ENGLISH AND JAPANESE PALATAL CONSONANTS BY DYNAMIC ELECTROPALATOGRAPHY

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INTRODUCTION

Consonants are very stable from the articulatory point of view and carry out an important function in our speech communication. Although consonants are analyzed from the place and manner of articulation in articulatory phonetics, it is very difficult to observe clearly alveolar, post-alveolar, palato-alveolar, palatal, velar and glottal consonants because the place of their articulation is inside the oral cavity.

In the research of articulatory phonetics the data have been mostly obtained with palatograms: Jones (1960), Abercrombie (1967), Gimson (1970), O'Connor (1976), Masuya (1976), Ladefoged (1982), etc. A coloured spray was commonly applied to the palate and alveolar ridge. When pronouncing the palatal consonant the tongue made contact, some of the spray was removed and this was photographed for phonetic analysis. Though this technique describes momentary contact, it does not document the duration of the contact. Very few refer to duration of contact. Gimson (1970) briefly mentions it concerning vowels and fricatives. Price (1984) using dynamic palatography discusses it.

This study is to provide more scientific articulatory analyses of English and Japanese consonants by dynamic electropalatography; to analyze and describe where the tongue contacts the palato-alveolar area and the duration of contact when articulating palatal consonants. With this articulatory data a contrastive analysis is made of English and Japanese palatal consonants clarifying the similarities and the differences.

The main objectives of this study are:

1. to provide scientific data concerning the place of articulation of English and Japanese palatal consonants by using dynamic electropalatography.
2. to provide scientific data of the duration of contact when articulating palatal consonants at three stages: onset, peak and release.

3. to clarify the similarities and the differences between English and Japanese palatal consonants by analyzing the electropalatographic data obtained in this study.

EXPERIMENT

Subjects

Subjects were three educated male native speakers of Japanese (A, B, C) and two educated native speakers of American English (X, Y). X was male and Y female. All five subjects were healthy adults with no orofacial deformities nor language disorders.

Material

Eleven palatal consonants were investigated in the Japanese and English languages. The target consonants are articulated by the tongue making contact with the alveolar, palato-alveolar and palate. English words were selected that corresponded in phonetic context to Japanese words of borrowed origin to facilitate a closer comparison between the English and Japanese consonants. The selected words were from accepted standard vocabulary with a vowel or non-palatal consonant before and after the target consonant. The preceding sound, for example, might be bilabial or a low vowel, if possible. A stressed vowel was preferable for following the palatal consonant.

Table 1: List of Selected Words

NO.	Target Consonant	English	Japanese (Romanized)
1	[t]	guitar	ギター (gitaa)
2	[d]	madam	マダム (madamu)
3	[n]	anarchist	アナーキスト (anaakisuto)
4	[l]	plan	プラン (puran)
5	[s]	pacemaker	ペースメーカー (peesumeekaa)
6	[z]	bazaar	バザー (bazaa)
7	[r]	pro	プロ (puro)
8	[tʃ]	bachelor	バチェラー (bacheraa)
9	[dʒ]	adjuster	アジャスター (ajasutaa)
10	[ʃ]	snapshot	スナップショット (sunappushotto)
11	[ʒ]	measure	メジャー (mejaa)

In modern Japanese there are no equivalents for [l] or [ʤ]. The Japanese [ɾ] is the nearest sound for both [l] and [r], and [ʒ] the only substitute for [ʤ].

Equipment

Each subject had an artificial palate made by the Rion Company from a plaster impression (Figure1) of their upper palato-oral cavity which fits the size and shape of each palate and attached firmly with metal clasps over the teeth. The artificial palate is made of resin approximately 1mm. thick and embedded with 63 electrodes placed 4-5 mm. apart. See Figure 2 for the configuration of the electrodes.

The electropalatography (Rion DP-01) records tongue-palatal contact at 15.6 msec. per frame and can store one second of palatal data or 64 frames in memory and review it at reduced speeds of one-tenth and one-third of real time, or frame-by-frame. The graphic printer (Rion DP-02) prints out any or all of the 64 frames from stored memory. The palato-adaptor (Rion DP-03) connects the electropalatograph and graphic printer, and allows for a stereo cassette recorder (Sony TC-D5PRO) and microphone (Primo UD-980) to record electropalatographic data and acoustic sound on two channels of a cassette tape
(Sony CX-S46). The data on cassette can be replayed, viewed on the display panel and then one-second segments of electropalatographic data can be stored, viewed at slower speeds and printed on paper tape (Rion RP-25).

Figure 1: Plaster Impression

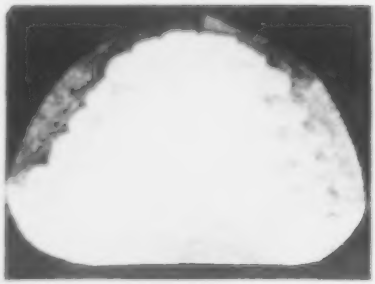
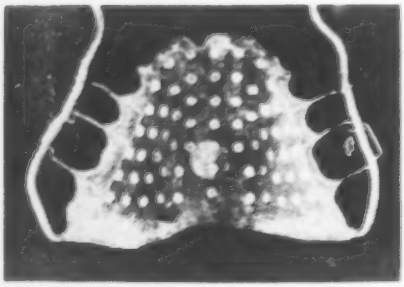
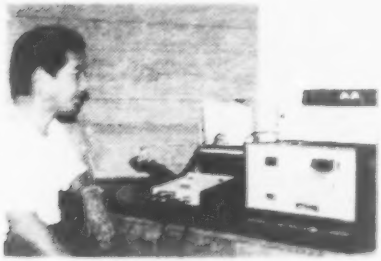


Figure 2: Artificial Palate



This instrumentation not only provides the duration of palatal contact which static palatography neglected, but more reliable data, more sensitively accurate contact measurement and incomparable precision in capturing gradual change of articulation. The spray coated on the palate for static palatography would at times still adhere even where the tongue had made contact. The sensitivity of the tiny, thin electrodes within the artificial palate increases reliability and accuracy of the recorded points of contact. The dynamics of palatal contact are also recorded in minuscule time-frame sequences in electropalatography illustrating articulatory movement. How might the single static palatograph compare to the sequence of electropalatographic frames? Precision, indeed, is with dynamic electropalatography. Furthermore, this dynamic equipment permits electronic viewing during the speaker's production, simultaneous aural and visual replay of taped natural speech data and speed controls for viewing electronic memory.

Figure 3: Instruments and Subject

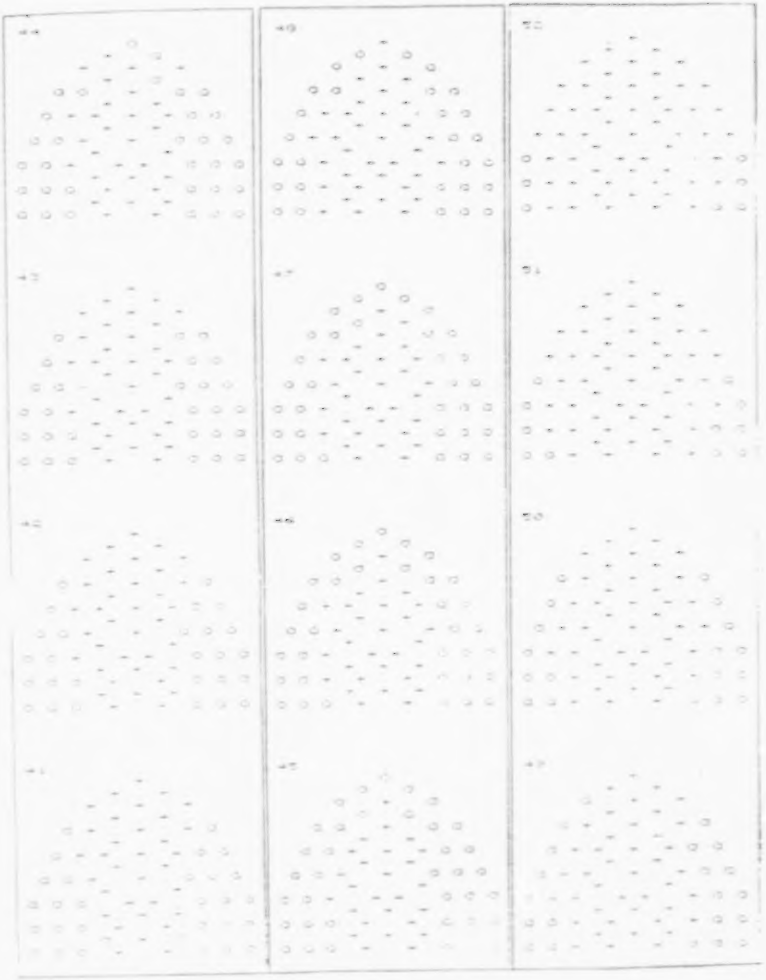


Method

Procedures prior to the experiment were for encouraging natural speech and to enhance accurate data retrieval from each speaker's artificial palate. First the subject spent at least 3-5 minutes getting accustomed to the artificial palate. It was then removed and saliva wiped off with tissue. Next, with the artificial palate replaced the speaker's naturalness and rate of pause were checked by three experimenters. The recording amplitude and the proper functioning of equipment were also checked. Finally the experiment began with A, B and C reading Japanese; X and Y the English words. Each word down the list was repeated twice. The speech acoustics and electropalatographic data were recorded simultaneously on tape.

The tape was replayed, selections of palatal data processed through memory and relevant segments printed. The two repetitions of each word were viewed on the electropalatograph. The better tongue-palate articulation was selected for memory processing by the judgement of three experimenters. Viewed at reduced

Figure 4: Electropalatographic Sequence of English [t]



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speed and frame-by-frame, the complete onset and release sequence of each speaker's eleven palatal consonants were printed.

Every printed sequence was examined for the start of onset, the significant peak and the final release of tongue-palate articulation. The preceding sound was a deciding factor in picking the first frame of palatal onset. Choosing the final frame of releasing the palatal consonant depended on the sound following it. The pattern of the points of contact and the frame with the greatest number of points contacted decided the peak frame, the one illustrating the most significant place of articulation for that consonant sound sequence.

Data

The electropalatographic sequence of Y's [t] from "guitar" (Figure 4) exemplifies the tongue-palate contact stages of onset, hold and release. The palatal contact points are signified by circles and plus marks. The circles represent the points of palatal contact.

Frames 41-42 show the palatal contact for the vowel [ɪ] in "guitar" [gɪtɑ:] Onset for [t] begins in frame 43 with the one additional point of contact. The tongue moves to the front toward the alveolar ridge making complete closure in frame 45, the significant peak and hold stage of [t]. Then points of contact with the palate slowly decrease as the release stage continues to frame 50. After frame 50 tongue contact recedes to the middle and then back portion of the palate for the following [ɑ:] sound. Frames 51-52 are not considered part of the [t] sequence.

Figure 5 is a copy of the significant peak frame of C's sequence for the Japanese [t]. Contact points of the electropalatograms were divided into three sections of five rows each. Counting all points of contact from the top of the frame, the five rows of the front portion contain respectively 1, 2, 3, 2 and 5 points; the middle portion has rows of 2, 7, 2, 7 and 2 contact points; the back portion consists of 8, 3, 8, 3 and 8 points in each row.

All frames of peak significance were investigated to decide one Japanese and one English model for place of articulation. All the data of the three Japanese speakers provided equally clear indication of the significant area of palatal contact. Subject C was picked as being closest to representing a median between high and low number of peak contact points (see Table 2).

Subject X has a high arching narrow palate roof which would allow only 51 electrodes, 20% less than the artificial palates of the four other speakers. So subject Y was selected as the English model to represent the place of articulation.

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Figure 5: A Frame of Electropalatograms

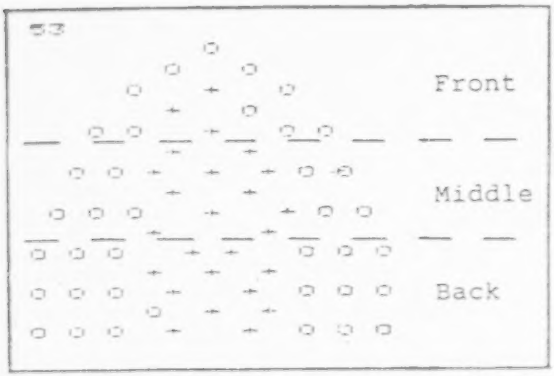


Figure 6 pictures all peak frames of Y and C as models of English and Japanese articulation respectively. It illustrates the place of articulation of the eleven palatal consonants. The total number of contact points is printed below each frame. Static palatograms taken from *An Outline of English Phonetics* (Jones 1960) are added for comparison. The shaded areas indicate the place of contact.

In Table 2 the percentage of contact points are listed for the significant peak frame of the consonant sequences for all speakers. Per cent was chosen, instead of number of points, to alleviate problems with the difference of X's number of contact electrodes. Each figure in the table is rounded off to the nearest whole number.

Table 3 lists statistics of articulatory duration for the five speakers. Duration is indicated by the number of frames portraying the onset, peak and release stages in the electropalatographic sequence of each palatal sound. For an example see Y's [t] sequence in Figure 4: 2 frames of onset, 1 for peak and 5 release frames. The duration figures multiplied by the 15.6 msec. per frame will give the approximate time of the duration of palatal contact. The mean for English and for Japanese was calculated to the nearest whole for total and stages of duration for each palatal consonant.

Table 2: Percentage of Contact Points

Sound	English		Japanese		
	X	Y	A	B	C
[t]	43	59	57	67	60
[d]	16	33	41	24	33
[n]	16	43	33	19	37
[l]	14	32	30	24	35
[s]	49	54	57	44	40
[z]	12	54	52	32	38
[r]	0	38	27	24	22
[tʃ]	69	68	95	57	73
[dʒ]	59	67	90	59	70
[ʃ]	61	56	84	48	63
[ʒ]	67	62	76	63	67

DISCUSSION

Pattern of Palatal Contact Points

Articulatory places of contact for Japanese and English palatal consonants are modeled in the peak electropalatographic frame in Figure 6. The electropalatographic data for the points of contact of the eleven palatal consonants are discussed in the following groups: 1. [t], [d], [n]; 2. [s], [z]; 3. [tʃ], [dʒ]; 4. [ʃ], [ʒ]; 5. [l] and [r].

Group 1 [t] [d] [n]

The total number of electrode points the tongue contacted for [t] is 37 in English and 38 in Japanese. The three figures following the total count are the number of contact points in the front, middle and back portions of the palate.

[t]	37 (E)	11,	9,	17	/	38 (J)	10,	9,	19
[d]	21 (E)	7,	6,	8	/	21 (J)	7,	4,	10
[n]	27 (E)	9,	6,	12	/	23 (J)	9,	5,	9

The tongue makes complete closure with the palate along the alveolar ridge for all three consonants in English and Japanese. Their patterns of electropalatographic points are not very different from the static palatogram for [t].

Table 3: Duration of Articulation in Number of Frames

(The durational mean for English and Japanese is provided on the right)

Sound	Process	Subjects					Mean	
		English		Japanese				
		X	Y	A	B	C	E	J
[t]	onset	3	2	3	8	4	3	5
	peak	1	1	2	1	1	1	1
	release	3	5	4	3	5	4	4
	Total	7	8	9	12	10	8	10
[d]	onset	1	2	2	2	1	2	2
	peak	1	1	1	1	2	1	1
	release	2	6	4	1	1	4	2
	Total	4	9	7	4	4	7	5
[n]	onset	1	1	3	1	2	1	2
	peak	1	1	2	1	1	1	1
	release	1	2	2	4	2	2	3
	Total	3	4	7	6	5	4	6
[l]	onset	1	5	0	1	4	3	2
	peak	2	1	1	1	2	2	1
	release	2	4	2	2	4	3	3
	Total	5	10	3	4	10	8	6
[s]	onset	5	5	10	13	12	5	12
	peak	1	1	2	3	4	1	3
	release	6	9	13	4	9	8	9
	Total	12	15	25	20	25	14	23
[z]	onset	2	6	4	3	3	4	3
	peak	3	3	2	3	1	3	2
	release	2	9	4	2	3	6	3
	Total	7	18	10	8	7	13	8
[r]	onset	-	-	1	1	1	-	1
	peak	-	-	1	1	1	-	1
	release	-	-	1	3	2	-	2
	Total	-	-	3	5	4	-	4
[tʃ]	onset	6	3	4	5	4	5	4
	peak	1	1	3	1	2	1	2
	release	6	8	4	7	10	7	7
	Total	13	12	11	13	16	13	13
[dʒ]	onset	2	4	3	3	2	3	3
	peak	2	4	2	1	2	3	2
	release	3	4	4	4	4	4	4
	Total	7	12	9	8	8	10	8
[ʃ]	onset	7	11	5	5	8	9	6
	peak	3	1	2	3	2	2	2
	release	3	7	4	4	4	5	4
	Total	13	19	11	12	14	16	12
[ʒ]	onset	4	5	4	4	3	5	4
	peak	2	2	1	1	3	2	2
	release	3	7	4	5	3	5	4
	Total	9	14	9	10	9	12	9

Figure 6: Place of Articulation

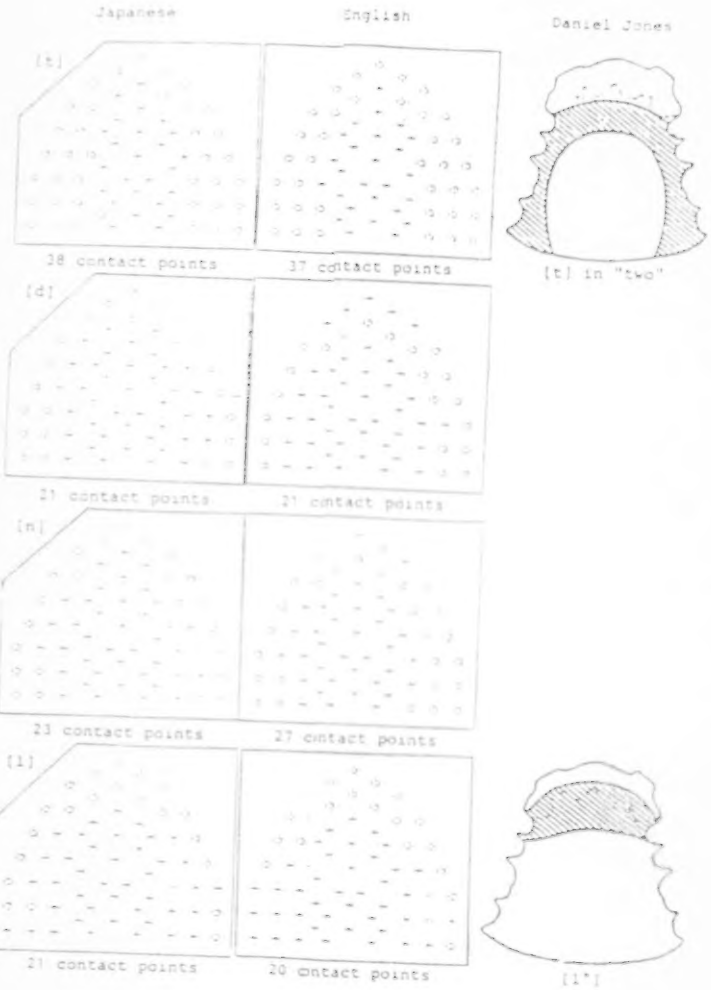


Figure 6: Place of Articulation (continued)

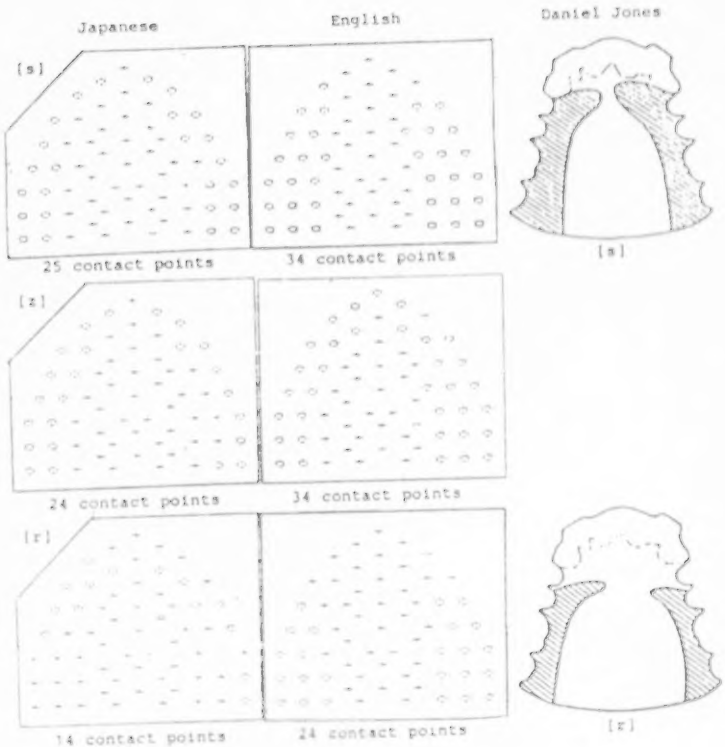
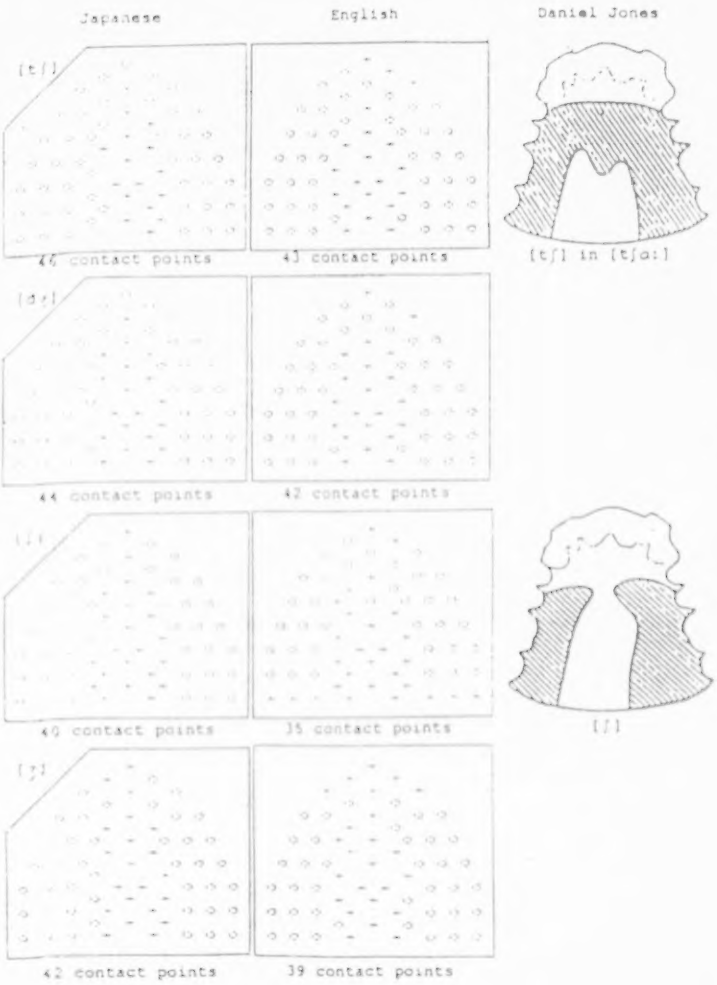


Figure 6: Place of Articulation (continued)



The sounds [d] and [n] are alike except for a few contact points particularly in the front portion of the palate [t] required many more points of contact. Three of the five speakers contacted more than twice as many contact points for [t] than they did for [d] or [n] as shown in Table 2.

Such a major difference in quantity of contact between [t] and [d] lends support to their fortis-lenis characteristics. [t] as fortis is produced with relatively greater effort than its lenis counterpart.

Group 2 [s] [z]

The tip of the tongue does not make complete closure with the palate for [s]. Four of the speakers support non-closure for both [s] and [z] palatal contact. The English model of [z] is the only example of closure.

The number of contacted points are significantly similar in Japanese more than in English for totals and the portions of the palate.

[s]	34 (E)	5,	11,	18	/	25 (J)	7,	6, 12
[z]	34 (E)	10,	9,	15	/	24 (J)	8,	6, 10

Percentage data in Table 2 show that [s] and [z] are produced with similar ratios of palatal contact by four speakers. The exact duplication of the total points of contact in English should not be misunderstood. The patterns of English [s] and [z] are different as shown in Figure 6.

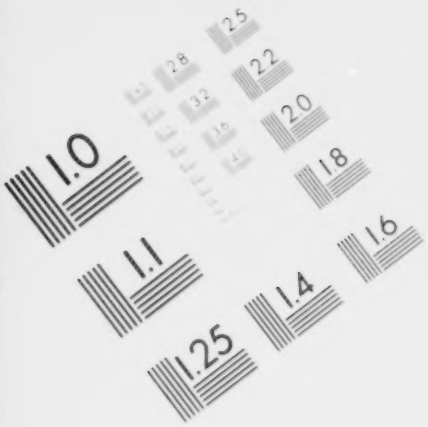
Group 3 [tʃ] [dʒ]

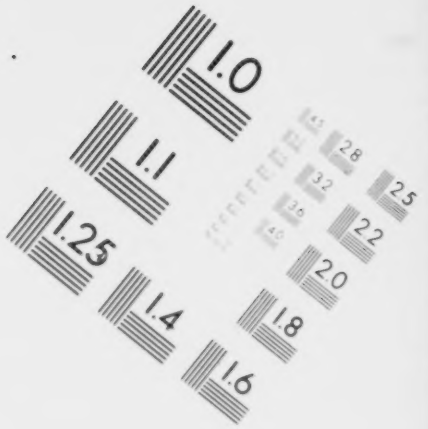
The contact points for this pair of affricates are similar both in total number and by portions of the palate.

[tʃ]	43 (E)	9,	14,	20	/	46 (J)	11,	14, 21
[dʒ]	42 (E)	10,	12,	20	/	44 (J)	11,	13, 20

Complete closure is made with the palate, both sides of the tongue contacting a majority of palatal points and only one point in the exact centre closing in the front against the alveolar ridge. The static palatogram for [tʃ] does not support the central closing contact pattern of the electropalatographic data.

There is a little difference between the numbers of contact points of [tʃ] and [dʒ]. The data in Table 2 show differences of 1% to 10% for this pair of consonants. Although support is weak and B offers a counterexample of 2%, the data reflect a tendency for more tongue-palate contact in the fortis consonant [tʃ] than the lenis [dʒ].





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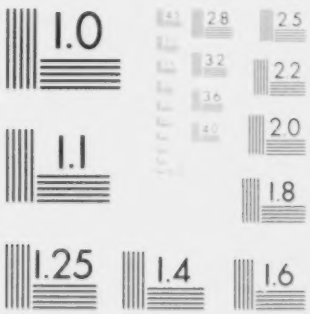

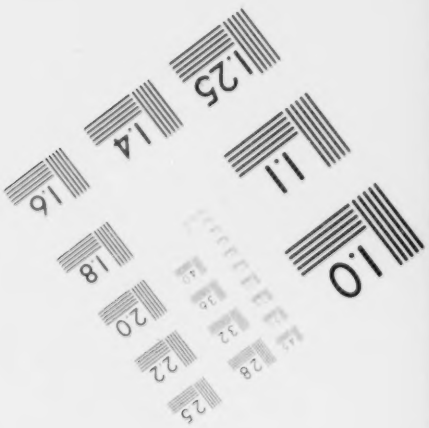

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Group 4 [ʃ] [ʒ]

The numbers of contacted points are similar in both Japanese palatal sounds; in English the front and back portions of the palate are different.

[ʃ]	35 (E)	10,	13,	12	/	40 (J)	10,	12,	18
[ʒ]	39 (E)	6,	12,	21	/	42 (J)	9,	13,	20

These two fricatives contacted about half or more of the palatal points, [ʃ] being relatively more forward at the front of the palate than [ʒ]. A majority of data, three speakers' [ʃ] and four of the five [ʒ] , indicate both palatal sounds do not make closure between the tip of the tongue and the front of the palate. A narrow opening is also illustrated by the static palatogram for [ʃ].

The ratios of palatal contact are higher for [ʒ] than for [ʃ]. Only speaker A produced [ʃ] with a greater number of contact points.

Group 5 [l] and [r]

The tip of the tongue contacts the very front of the palate and a lateral opening on at least one side of the palate produces [l]. The English model best demonstrates the lateral opening. Speaker X, contacting only points at the front tip of the alveolar ridge, used approximately half the number of points for [l] than the other four speakers (see Table 2).

[l]	20 (E)	12,	6	2	/	21 (J)	12,	4,	5
[r]	24 (E)	0,	7,	17	/	14 (J)	6,	6,	2

The [r] is articulated with contact in the front portion for Japanese, but in English there is no contact at the front of the palate. The contact points in the English model are of the vowel sound in the word, "pro". Speaker X had no contact for [r] as shown in Table 2. The English data support a frictionless [r].

Duration of Palatal Contact

Electropalatography provides durational data that in the past were impossible to obtain. All measurements of contact duration are given in Table 3. The unit of time is the number of electropalatographic frames needed to document the complete sequence of onset, peak and release stages of articulation. Each frame represents a sample of contact data every 15.6 msec. No duration data is available for English [r], because palatal contact was insufficient to record in palatographic sequences.

Individual data in Table 3 show that each sound was produced differently by each of the five subjects. Whenever speakers agree in total duration for any one consonant, the figures differ for their stages of articulation. Speakers do at times

produce the same duration set for stages of separate palatal consonants, for example the [t] of X and C's [z]. Moreover, only speaker A repeated his own durational set for [t] and [dʒ]. However, individual duration does not allow for much generalization. It can vary even for repetitions of the same word according to speaking speed.

Using the figures of total duration generalizations concerning the manner of articulation are possible. Below are listed in rank order from longest to shortest sequence of time the English mean for each consonant's total duration, and separately the list of the Japanese mean.

It will be noticed in both lists that each fortis consonant took relatively longer than the lenis counterpart. For English and Japanese palatal contact, fortis sound force took relatively more time to produce. For example, [ʃ] and [ʒ] differ by 4 time frames in English, and by 3 in Japanese.

Another observation is that fricatives and affricates tend to be relatively longer than plosive, nasal or lateral sounds. The English data is clear. The means of all fricatives and affricates were in sequences of 10 to 16 frames, whereas the other consonant sequences were 8 frames or less.

In Japanese the plosive [t] separates the fricatives and affricates of fortis consonants from the lenis fricatives and affricates. The [t] is the only counterexample. So, although weakened, the tendency of fricative and affricate sounds toward longer palatal contact is meaningful.

Table 4: Ranked Mean of Total Consonant Duration

English	Mean	Japanese	Mean
[ʃ]	16	[s]	23
[s]	14	[tʃ]	13
[tʃ]	13	[ʃ]	12
[z]	13	[t]	10
[ʒ]	12	[ʒ]	9
[dʒ]	10	[dʒ]	8
[l]	8	[z]	8
[t]	8	[l]	6
[d]	7	[n]	6
[n]	4	[d]	5
[r]	-	[r]	4

Comparison of English and Japanese Palatal Consonants

The electropalatographic data collected for studying contact points and duration will be examined for comparing the palatal consonants in both languages, each target consonant to be investigated in pairs of English and Japanese contact data. Table 4 examines the total contact points; in Table 5 the total mean duration of contact for both languages are compared. Table 4 and Table 5 list English and Japanese data and their numerical difference for each palatal consonant.

Table 5
Total
Contact Points

	Japanese	English	Difference
[t]	38	37	1
[d]	21	21	0
[n]	23	27	4
[l]	21	20	1
[s]	25	34	11
[z]	24	34	10
[r]	14	24	10
[tʃ]	46	43	3
[dʒ]	44	42	2
[ʃ]	40	35	5
[ʒ]	42	39	3

Table 6
Mean
Contact Duration

	Japanese	English	Difference
[t]	10	8	2
[d]	5	7	2
[n]	6	4	2
[l]	6	8	2
[s]	23	14	9
[z]	8	11	5
[r]	4	-	-
[tʃ]	13	13	0
[dʒ]	8	10	2
[ʃ]	12	16	4
[ʒ]	9	12	3

The similarity of the Japanese and English data is judged by the amount of difference. For both durational and contact point data the scale of similarity is identical. If the difference is 0, 1 or 2, the Japanese and English palatal sounds are considered the same; differences of 3, 4 or 5, as similar; 6 or more are different.

The majority of the palatal consonants are similar or the same. Large differences only appear in data for [s], [z] and [r]. However, each of the target sounds will be discussed considering the points and the duration of palatal contact.

[t] The number of contact points for [t] in English and Japanese is the same by the scale of similarity. Their electropalatographic patterns of contact are almost copies of each other. And three of the five subjects contacted approximately the same percentage of the palatal points.

Comparatively the mean durations of total palatal contact for English and Japanese [t] are the same. The difference of two frames of electropalatographic data is during the mean onset stage of articulation. The three stages of duration data are almost-alike for four of the subjects.

[d] In Japanese and English the number of palatal contact points is exactly the same. Both contact patterns indicate closure around the alveolar ridge in a one-point string of electropalatographic points.

The total mean durations of English and Japanese palatal contact are relatively the same. The means differ only at the release stage of articulatory contact. The total duration of three of the subjects is the same number of time frames.

[n] The number of total contact points is comparatively similar in English and Japanese. The pattern of closure in both of their electropalatograms is quite similar.

The contact durations of English and Japanese palatal nasals are the same on the scale of similarity. There is but a single time-frame difference both in the mean stage of onset and release.

[l] In the total number of palatal points of contact this pair of lateral sounds is the same. Both Japanese and English electropalatograms concentrate contact points at teh front part of the palate. The English pattern of palatal contact shows a wider lateral opening.

The total articulatory mean durations are considered the same in English and Japanese. The mean of the onset and peak stage of English is one time-frame longer.

[s] The palatal contact points are different in total number for each language. The Japanese pattern of points forms a narrower opening at the front with fewer contacts along each side. In the pattern for English thick walls of contact points along both sides form a wider opening at the front part of the palate.

Mean durational data show the [s] in Japanese is different from English. Every stage of mean articulatory duration is different in the two languages. Differences in onset and peak durational stages are most prominent.

[z] Japanese and English are different in their numbers of contact points. Palatal contact in Japanese is much less than in English and only the pattern of English demonstrates closure.

The two means of contact duration are similar. The English means of onset and peak durations are one time-frame longer than the Japanese. In the mean stage of release English is three frames longer. The durations of subject X, B and C are almost the same.

[r] The English [r] and the Japanese [r] are different in total contact number. The Japanese contact pattern is also quite different from that of English. In Japanese the contact is forward in the palate; the tongue in English contacts only along the back and middle sides of the palate, which is for the following vowel sound. Subject X made no contact for [r] (see Table 2).

Since English data was unavailable, comparison of duration is impossible.

[tʃ] The comparison of total contact points gives a similar relationship for this affricate. The palatal contact patterns are much the same along the sides of the palate; the closures at the front are similar. Three subjects contacted about 70% of the palatal points.

The same number of mean durational frames were recorded for English and Japanese. The mean duration of onset and peak stages differ by just one time frame. The stages of palatal contact are very similar for three of the five subjects.

[dʒ] The total points of palatal contact are the same by the scale of similarity. The patterns of their peak electropalatograms are much the same. Four of the subjects contacted about 60-70% of their palatal points.

The durational means of Japanese and English [dʒ] are considered the same. The length of time during the peak stage is the only difference and four of the subjects' stages of duration are very much alike.

[ʃ] The amount of palatal contact is similar for [ʃ]. The electropalatographic patterns of contact, though, present differences near the front and in the back of the palate. The opening at the front for English is much narrower than for Japanese.

The total mean durations are similar on the similarity scale. However, the English mean for onset is three frames longer than that of Japanese and there is but one time frame difference for the release stage.

[ʒ] Japanese and English [ʒ] are similar in their number of palatal contact points. Their electropalatograms demonstrate very similar patterns of contact with the palate. Four of the subjects used similar percentages of palatal contact.

Their total mean durational data are similar. Japanese mean stages of onset and release are each one time frame less than the English data.

CONCLUSION

It is easy to get objective data by using the electropalatograph. The reliability of the data is high because the thickness of an artificial palate is only about 1 mm, and every subject is under the same condition of wearing the artificial palate. The sensitivity by the method of the artificial palate is very much higher than that by the method of spraying the palate.

Because of the high cost of the equipment and amount of time needed for this experiment the number of subjects may be limited, which will make it difficult to get enough subjects for generalization of data. The shape of the palate is different acording to each individual. The artificial palate must be designed to fit the subject's palate and include all 63 electrodes to match the configuration of the display model. Another is a saliva problem. Even when the tongue is not touching the palate, saliva may cause us to misinterpret the contact points.

It is difficult to separate a palatal consonant from a preceding or following sound since they are overlapping in a stream of a spoken work or sentence. For example, the tongue will contact the back of the palate when the vowel [ɑ:] influences the preceding consonant [t] in "guitar" [ɑ:].

By using the electropalatograph we can record a subject's natural speech on tape. Any sound can be picked out of the recorded speech and analyzed at any time afterwards. It can record tongue-palate contact at 15.6 msec. We can get and analyze the data of the changes at the onset, peak and release stages. From these points the reliability of duration by this method is higher than that by the citation method. The biggest merit of this method is to be able to obtain the data of duration and contact at the same time.

From the data of our experiment we can conclude that in the comparison of English and Japanese palatal consonants [t], [d], [l] and [dʒ] are the same, [n], [tʃ], [ʃ] and [ʒ] similar, but [z], [s] and [r] different.

The electropalatograph allows a subject to see his contact patterns on the display panel when speaking and review them from memory many times. This working seems to be very much useful in English speech training of Japanese

speakers as introduced by H. Nakahara et al. (1982) for speech training after a cleft palate restoration.

It seems possible to obtain more detail on palatal consonants under various conditions. Data by electropalatography from colloquial speech will be much closer to natural speech. Further electropalatographic studies in articulatory phonetics will make more contribution to a comparison of the sounds of languages.

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A STUDY IN THE ADEQUACY OF DATA FOR STRATEGY ANALYSES IN SPOKEN DISCOURSE

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INTRODUCTION

Dell Hymes in his *Ethnography of Speaking* (1968) quotes Roman Jakobson in describing two basic approaches to discourse analysis: paradigmatic and syntagmatic. The paradigmatic approach to discourse analysis has had a considerable number of representatives, such as the work of M. Stubbs (1983) and D. Schiffrin (1987). These works are characterized by the analysis of an item (e.g. *well, please, you know, I mean,* etc.) in some relevant frame. A syntagmatic approach, however, would require a study of the concordance of units or the concatenation of basic discourse units in sequential relationships.

Michael Stubbs (1983) has discussed the dilemma that, on the one hand, any combination may potentially be linked in discourse sequences, while on the other, the assumption of a dominant need for cooperation and a social goal of well-formedness undergirds the intuitions which speakers have about discourse sequences. Stated in other terms: because of this dilemma, research in syntagmatic discourse analysis has been limited to formal sequential pairs, such as questions and responses (Sacks, Schegloff, Jefferson, etc.), rather than examining the concatenation patterns from a functional semantic perspective in which speech acts, as the primary intention and effect of interaction, become the focus for each utterance.

Utilizing interactive functions (based on speech acts), E. Berendt (1979, 1981) found a dominant strategy as characteristic of how spoken English discourse develops an exchange.

Figure 1: Dominant Strategy

Speaker A: I./L.I. + P.F. + (R.B.) + C.
Speaker B: (L.I.) + A/D + (L.I.) + (R.B.) + C.

I. : Initiators
L.I. : Preparatory Expressions
P.F. : Primary Function in a Turn
R.B. : Relationship Bonding
C. : Clarification Comments or Supporting Explanations
A/D : Agreement/Disagreement (+ Other Responses, eg. Acknowledgement and Avoidance)

The initial data of this dominant strategy was from planned spoken discourse consisting of sets (one of two hours and the other one hour), totalling 2,824 interactive functions in 59 episodes or speech events. In the first set 66% of all utterances were related to the dominant pattern, and in the shorter second set 47%. This dominant strategy was subsequently examined interlingually in three sets of comparable natural, unedited spoken language, in English, Japanese, and Spanish. In each language more than 50% of the interactive functions occurred in relation to the dominant strategy. Some significant interlanguage differences, however, were found within the dominant strategy e.g. explanatory strategies (Berendt 1982, Berendt & Tanaka 1984).

Given the above research, the dominant strategy provides a relevant frame for examining the characteristic development in natural conversation. In order to establish the reliability of such a strategy, we wanted to determine to what extent it reflects actual speech activity, and how much data is needed to reliably establish the sequential occurrences in the strategy.

Method and Results

A base in terms of the quantity of speech activity which would be representative of an actual average day of dyadic interaction (a Talk Day) was needed to make any statistical analysis that might be carried out on spoken data. We wanted to know what the average time was that persons spend in a talking day. A two-week plan (Sunday through Saturday) of recording speech activity was programmed, in which each participant recorded all his/her interaction (non-stop) for a four-hour sequence. Each sequence overlapped the next by two hours (eg. Person A: 8 a.m. to 12 noon; Person B: 10 a.m. to 2 p.m., etc.). The scheduled recording began at 8 a.m. and finished at 10 p.m. each day with a total of 17 third-year Japanese university students participating over the two week period (not including other interactants in each recording). When participants had finished their recording, they edited out all non-interactive speech and sound, and the actual time spent in dyadic interaction was calculated with a 30-second measurement leeway. The actual dyadic speech activity ranged from 25 to 103 minutes per four-hour segment. The average for the whole was then calculated to arrive at a representative "Talk Day" of 159 minutes (2 hours 39 minutes). The Talk Day could then be used as a minimum base for the quantity of data necessary for analyzing dominant strategies in terms of interactive speech activity.

The second stage was then to examine the relationship between the reliability and frequency of the interactive functions in terms of the dominant strategy. How much data is necessary for sequential pairs in the dominant strategy? With the goal of providing approximately double the amount of speech in a Talk Day of interaction, four sources (each comprising a set of English and Japanese data which were sociolinguistically comparable in terms of social roles, ages and numbers of main speakers as well as length of recording time) were collated. The actual interactive time in the data sources used was 276 minutes from the four English sources and 291 minutes from the Japanese sources, slightly greater than the average Talk Day, a ratio of 1.74 and 1.83.

Table 1 Sources of Data

Source	Number of Functions	
	English	Japanese
Source 1	922	1,244
Source 2	1,414	952
Source 3	2,057	1,851
Source 4	1,346	1,533
TOTAL	5,739	5,580
Interaction Time (min.)	276	291

The Spearman Rank Correlation Coefficient (split-half) was calculated for single functions, sequences of pairs focused on functions occurring before and after the primary functions in a turn; and the sequences of primary functions in an exchange (across a turn) were also calculated. A primary function focused on in a turn was determined as one which conveys semantic intent as opposed to cohesive linkage in a sequence of interactive functions (See Table 2 for a partial list).

Table 2 List of High Frequency Primary Functions (n ≥ 15)

ENGLISH		JAPANESE	
671	COGNITIVE INF.	574	COGNITIVE INF.
382	INQUIRY	488	INQUIRY
365	REQUEST	330	AGREE
278	AGREE	239	REQUEST
247	SUGGESTION	192	SUGESTION
187	DISAGREE	167	SURPRISE
148	CRITICISM	146	DISAGREE
98	APPRECIATION	135	CRITICISM
69	SURPRISE	103	TEASING
65	TEASING	91	PLEASURE
64	GREETING	75	APPRECIATION
59	ANNOYANCE	71	FAREWELL
58	PLEASURE	61	REASSURANCE
56	REASSURANCE	60	ANXIETY
49	ANGER	58	GREETING
46	ANXIETY	56	APOLOGY
41	DISPLEASURE	54	DOUBT
33	ENTHUSIASM	52	GRATITUDE
31	DOUBT	47	DISPLEASURE
31	FAREWELL	41	EMPATHY
28	WARNING	37	EMBARRASSMENT
27	APOLOGY	33	OFFER
26	EMBARRASSMENT	27	ANNOYANCE
21	DEFENSE	24	ANGER
21	GRATITUDE	19	ENTHUSIASM
17	EMPATHY	19	INTRODUCTION
17	PROMISE		
15	INTRODUCTION		

In examining the reliability of paired functions with $r_S > .70$ as a base criterion, not until utterances occurring with a frequency of more than 15 times does the possibility of sequential expectation appear realized. However, the progression is uneven, and in the cases of English P+ (primary function with the following interactive functions) reliability is still less than .70.

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Table 3 Rank Correlation Coefficients of Functions Which Appeared More Than n Times

Source		$n \geq 1$	$n \geq 5$	$n \geq 10$	$n \geq 15$
English:	F	0.92	0.92	0.93	0.92
Japanese:	F	0.93	0.91	0.87	0.86
English:	P+	0.10	0.50	0.65	0.66
Japanese:	P+	0.21	0.38	0.21	0.85
English:	+P	0.11	0.49	0.72	0.82
Japanese:	+P	0.23	0.40	0.42	0.82
English:	P/P	0.20	0.43	0.67	0.58
Japanese:	P/P	0.22	0.28	0.55	0.85

P+ : Primary Function with a Following Function
+P : Primary Function with a Preceding Function
P/P : Primary Functions Related in an Exchange

If, however, the same data is looked at, not in terms of the isolated interactive functions, but by clustering them in terms of the typologies in the dominant strategy, we find the results are highly supportive of the sequential pairs in the strategy ($n \geq 15$). Functions which precede the primary function within a turn are predominantly preparatory ones (Leadins and Initiators): English 44% and Japanese 55%. Similarly, relationship bonding expressions are 21% for English and 17% for Japanese. Since repetition is a basic characteristic of unplanned, natural speech, repetition of the primary function is not surprising in English at 28% and Japanese 19%. Other interactive functions constitute a low of English 7% and Japanese 9%.

Table 4 Function Types Preceding P.F.

	ENGLISH	JAPANESE
Preparatory Expressions	313 (44%)	363 (55%)
Repetition (P.F.)	196 (28%)	126 (19%)
Relationship Bonding	145 (21%)	109 (17%)
Others	53 (7%)	58 (9%)
Total Functions	707	656

Similarly an examination of what follows the primary functions in a turn shows Relationship Bonding (E 33%; J 28%), Clarification (E 32%; J 26%) and repetition of the primary function (E 24%; J 26%) as comprising the bulk of sequences. Preparatory expressions (Leadins) for an additional primary function and miscellaneous functions are each much less than 15% in each language. If we take the dominant strategy as reflecting a cooperative intent in communicating, then in both Tables 4 and 5 the "other" group is an indication that speakers always have the option of violating the cooperative principle but the actual occurrence is very low in frequency.

Table 5 Function Types Following P.F.

	ENGLISH	JAPANESE
Relationship Bonding	262 (33%)	136 (28%)
Clarification	249 (32%)	124 (26%)
Repetition (P.F.)	191 (24%)	125 (26%)
Preparatory Expressions	50 (6%)	60 (12%)
Others	32 (4%)	40 (8%)
Total Functions	784	485

In analyzing the data across turns in an exchange, we have focused on the relationship of primary functions (excluding those utterances which serve a cohesive purpose). These primary functions could be grouped into four types: giving cognitive information, showing agreement or disagreement (including avoidance and simple acknowledgement), affective-emotive responses, and responses which are of a social, ritual nature (eg. greetings).

Table 6 Response P.F. in the Exchanges

	ENGLISH		JAPANESE	
Cognitive Information	375	(48%)	370	(48%)
Agreement/Disagreement	246	(32%)	248	(32%)
Affective Responses	138	(18%)	119	(15%)
Ritual Exchanges	17	(2%)	36	(5%)
Total Responses	776		773	

The first three of these types suggest that the dominant strategy would be usefully revised to indicate these typologies in the choices present in the data.

Figure 2 Dominant Strategy (Revised)

Speaker A: I./L.I. + (R.B.) + P.F. + (R.B.) + C.

Speaker B: (L.I.) + (R.B.) + $\left\{\text{P.F.} : \begin{matrix}\text{C.I.} \\ \text{A.E.}\end{matrix} \quad \text{A/D}\right\}$ + (R.B.) + C.

C.I. : Cognitive Information
A.E.: Affective-Emotive Responses

CONCLUSION

Utilizing a Talk Day (159 minutes) as a minimum basis for the necessary quantity of interaction, the $r_s = .92$ (English); $r_s = .86$ (Japanese) was found for single functions ($n \geq 15$), and pairs within a turn varied from $r_s = .66$ to $r_s = .85$ in the English and Japanese data respectively.

In testing the reliability for analyzing syntagmatic concatenations in spoken discourse, paired sequences within a turn and across a turn were tested for reliability focusing on the primary interactive function in a turn for P+ $r_s = .66$ (English); $r_s = .85$ (Japanese); for +P $r_s = .82$ for both English and Japanese. In the case of across turn related primary functions $r_s = .58$ (English) and $r_s = .85$ (Japanese).

By clustering the interactive functions in the typologies of the Dominant Strategy, 93% of the English and 91% of the Japanese fall within the categories of the +P, and 89% of the English and 80% of the Japanese in the P+ sequence.

In examining the typologies of the primary functions across turns (within an exchange), three significant groupings could be made which has led to a revision of the Dominant Strategy. The placement of Relationship Bonding has also been revised to reflect the fact that it may precede (English 21%; Japanese 17%) or follow the primary function (English 33%; Japanese 28%).

It may be concluded that the dominant strategy then is a reliable indicator of how interactive speech is cooperatively developed. This dominant strategy has implications for teaching spoken interaction as well as examining inter-language variation with cross-cultural impact (Berendt 1982, 1984).

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THE USE OF ASPECT IN PAPUA NEW GUINEA ENGLISH

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INTRODUCTION

The aim of this study is to focus specifically on the way aspect may or may not be indicated in Papua New Guinean English (PNGE) by speakers of English at the acrolect level. This study will focus primarily on aspect and will ignore considerations of time sequence and tenses, or mood. It was found essential to keep these entities independent in order to be able to discuss them. Any obvious overlap and interlocking of categories will receive attention in the discussion.

Aspect

In 1921 Sapir said "aspect is expressed in English by all kinds of idiomatic terms rather than by a consistently worked out set of grammatical forms" (Sapir 1921:108). Although the terminology and definition of aspect are still very much open to debate and subject to variation, the work of Comrie (1976) will be taken as a point of reference.

Before we discuss aspect marking in PNGE, we shall look at a definition of aspect and types of aspectual marking in languages in general. We shall then focus on native English (E1) speakers and on the system which appears used by them.

In order to complete an analysis and discussion of aspect usage in PNGE, observations were conducted on a wide range of sources and domains over several years; this includes varieties of settings and registers, such as formal and informal, as well as written and spoken. This paper will quote any of the observations collected thus without referencing. It will also, for the sake of statistical analysis, focus on two samples of informal spoken discourse by two speakers of different educational levels. Details used for statistical analysis are given below in the methodology section.

Definition of Aspect and Terminology

Holt's definition of aspect as "les manières diverses de concevoir l'écoulement du procès même", has been adapted and translated by Comrie as follows: "aspects are different ways of viewing the internal temporal constituency of a situation" (Holt in Comrie 1976:3). Although this definition seems to be generally

accepted, there is often, however, a difference of opinion on how it is to be applied. The argument centres around whether, since it has stemmed from studies of Slavic languages, the term "aspect" can be transferred and applied to other languages. Although it has been said to be a term with a specialised meaning, it has come to be used as a cover term outside of Slavic languages (Joos 1964:106).

Traditionally western linguists when discussing the verb phrase have by-passed aspect and focused principally on tense, mood and voice. The only early instances of concern over any aspectual nuances would be found in studies of Ancient Greek in what was termed the "aorist". This particular verb form indicated an aspect, termed by Comrie "the perfective aspect" ("completive" by other linguists) in the past tense. This was shown to be opposed to a non-perfective (or non-completive) past tense which was rendered by another verb form altogether. Both forms use a different variant of the verb base to indicate this opposition. Comrie shows that other languages do indicate aspectual distinctions even if they do not always seem to have overt aspectual verb forms to indicate these.

Comrie further demonstrates quite convincingly that aspect does have to do with time although it is different from tense, which can be defined as "the correspondence between the form of the verb and our concept of time" (Quirk and Greenbaum 1973:40). Aspect, however, does not have to do with time in an external sense as in tenses which help place an event on a time-line and relate it to another event on that same time-line; instead, aspect reflects the situation-internal timing of an action, its dynamics from within, so to speak, and this regardless of its situation on any time-line or in relation to any other event. By the term dynamics we mean the manner in which the rhythm or style of an action or an event is expressed from the speaker's viewpoint. Any one speaker should theoretically be able to comment on any one event or action from a number of different aspectual standpoints. This therefore makes the role played by the context absolutely crucial when evaluating aspect marking, since the very same event could be discussed entirely differently and from two or more different standpoints.

There are two types of aspect marking which seem to be generally accepted as basic oppositions. These are discussed by Comrie (1976:4) in the following terms. If any verb form is making explicit reference to the internal temporal constituency of the situation it is said to be marking aspect that can be referred to as "imperfective"; whereas the second type of aspect or "perfective" aspect, in contrast, is to be found whenever "the whole of the situation is presented as a single unanalysable whole". Comrie chooses for this type the term "perfectivity" in the sense that the process, event or action is either viewed as perfective or

imperfective, as finite or nonfinite, or as complete or incomplete depending on terminology used.

In fact there is a wide variety of terms for the above distinction. Palmer (1968) uses perfective and imperfective whereas Joos makes a distinction between generic (the simple form) and temporary (the "Be + Ving" form) for English. The generic aspect, he argues, would have the role of expressing the limitless validity of a predication as a whole, whereas the temporal aspect, or "limited duration" as it has also been called, would restrict the validity of the predication by limiting it to an unspecified entity in terms of time.

Other terms used are "permanent" vs "momentous", "cyclic" vs "noncyclic" (Bull 1968) and more recently "punctual" vs "nonpunctual" (Bickerton 1981:164). These latter terms have caught our attention not because they express the distinction all that much better, but because Bickerton shows this semantic distinction to be linked with universal principles across languages (1981:212). He convincingly shows the same distinction to exist in creole languages and at the incipient acquisition stage of first language learning. He illustrates this with the examples from Antinucci and Miller (1976) on the learning of Italian as a first language (Bickerton 1981:164ff). In conclusion then, the basic distinction can be said to be quite clearly noticeable in most languages although the debate concerning terminology is still open.

Exemplification of Aspectual Distinctions

Some languages have formal and overt ways of marking some aspectual distinctions which are rarely marked explicitly in other languages although they could be expressed.

The best illustration of the punctual vs non-punctual distinction is perhaps the example of the type quoted by Comrie when he explains the use of the aorist in Ancient Greek. The same opposition can also be illustrated with the aspectual contrast in the French verb phrase between the imperfect (past imperfective) and the past simple (past perfective similar to Greek aorist) as shown below (Comrie (1976:17):

1 Il régna dix ans: "He reigned for ten years" or more explicitly: He had a reign of 10 years.

2 Il régnait dix ans, "He reigned for ten years" or more explicitly: He was reigning for 10 years.

In (1) above the event is looked upon as one individual whole, and it becomes the full object of focus indicating that we may now look at the next event, which will be outside of the sphere of this event (namely outside of the reign). The contrast is clear with (2) where the event is no longer looked upon as indivisible and in fact is highly divisible (into smaller units of years for example). This now indicates that we may go on to focus on any one of the events within the smaller units, which is not true of (1).

Another interesting point illustrated by example (1) is the flexibility of aspect marking which allows for the use of a durative adverbial with a perfective verb phrase as in:

3 Il régna (pendant) dix ans: "He reigned for ten years" or more explicitly: He reigned for a ten year duration.

On this subject Comrie points out that perfectivity, which after all is a punctual event, is by no means incompatible with overt expressions of the duration of a situation (Comrie 1976:22).

In spite of the wide ranging potential of aspect marking, for most circumstances there are some general tendencies for grouping types of aspect that seem to be true for most languages.

To quote Freed (1979:15): "In fact the categories progressive and nonprogressive, habitual, and various other aspectual meanings such as of durative, iterative, generic and serial are all intuitively subclasses of the imperfective. Similarly punctual, inchoative, completive etc... are seen as different types of perfectives".

He then adds "however there is some intermingling of these allowing such things as perfective interactives as in "she sneezed five times in a row" or progressive uses of perfective verbs as in "they are finishing dinner".

Types of Syntactive and Morphological Aspect Marking

Ignoring the semantic implication of aspect contained within some verbal forms, there are two ways in which aspect is formally marked in the verb phrase, one being syntactic and the other morphological.

Morphological aspect marking is carried out through the use of affixes, prefixing probably being the most common technique. Comrie (1976:88ff) points out that in Slavic languages some prefixes are variable and dependent on lexical items. He also explains that some of the marking necessitates a complete change of stem, as in Ancient Greek, and that some are invariant as in the case of:

Chinese	: suffix	-zhe	Progressive
Persian	: prefix	mi-	Imperfective

To the above examples we could add some examples from PNG languages as in the cases of suffixation shown below (from Franklin 1981:32,214):

Kwanga	: suffix	-ko	Inception
Nakanai	: suffix	-ti	Perfectivity

Many PNG languages indicate aspect, such as continuation, completion or habituality, with the help of affixes, although some use syntactic devices to express the same idea. Syntactic marking of aspect is typically performed by one part of speech (sometimes more) which usually carries fairly overtly the idiomatic meaning of the aspect under consideration. Quoting Comrie again (1976:87), some African languages use a periphrastic technique as in the Yoruba (Nigerian) example below:

4 "ó ń ̩ṣiṣẹ" "he in work" (progressive)

The French language also provides an example of how explicit a language can be when it needs to mark aspect:

5 Il est en train de travailler "he is in the process of working" (progressive)

But it must be emphasised that for languages that have a "progressive durative continuous" form the usages do not exactly overlap nor are they calques of each other: in fact they all have a semantic field which is clearly delimited. For example, although we have seen in (5) that French does have a potential progressive marker, it would not be used to translate English progressive forms in normal circumstances as shown below:

6 Engl. : He is working

7 Fr. : Il travaille

8 Fr. : Il est en train de travailler

(8) seems closer to obsolete, archaic English, and also to some dialects of English, e.g. Appalachian English (Shopen & Williams 1980:215):

9 He is a-working (Scheffer 1975 & Adamczerski 1974)

As background to our study it is useful to look at the language spoken by most Papua New Guineans - Tok Pisin. All aspect marking in Tok Pisin is carried syntactically. Examples:

Completion or Perfectivity:

10 Mi wok pinis. "I have finished working".

Habituality:

11 Mi save wok long apinun. "I (habitually) work in the afternoons"

Durativity:

12 Em i wok long kaikai. "She is in the middle of eating". (Thomas 1984:28)

Repetition or Iterativity:

13 Mi wet, wet, wet tasol. "I am just waiting (I wait on and on)". (Dutton 1973:247)

Continuity or Progressivity:

14 Mi wet i stap. "I am waiting (I continue to wait)".

A summary of aspect marking for Tok Pisin appears in the table below.

Table 1: Aspect Usage in Tok Pisin

NON PUNCTUAL				PUNCTUAL	
ITERATIVE	HABITUAL	PROGRESSIVE	DURATIVE	PERFECTIVE	SIMPLE
mi wet, wet wet tasol	mi save wet	mi wet i stap	mi wok long wet	mi wet pinis	mi wet (tasol)
I wait on and on	I usually wait	I continue to wait	I keep on waiting	I have waited	I wait

These techniques are common to many languages. Comrie, for example, discusses, in relation to Italian, the fact that some languages use a stative locative verb combined with the content verb to indicate action in progress as in:

15 Italian : Sto cantando (Progressive)
lit : I stand singing (Comrie 1976:102)

We note (15) is in direct parallel to Tok Pisin (14) consisting of Verb + i stap.

Aspect in E1

Although linguists like Jespersen say that aspect is marked in a variety of ways (Jespersen 1924:286), others like Bloomfield (1933) consider the marking of aspect "elusive," that is, in a sense not easy to describe. We shall now show that aspect is in fact an obligatory category in any one verb phrase in E1. Aspect marking is more often presented under four categories marking the following distinctions: simple, perfective (completive) habitual and progressive (continuous) (see Quirk & Greenbaum 1973:40, Lynch & Smith 1982:62ff). Following Bickerton's distinction as discussed in our introduction, we could reorganise these four groups into two main opposing categories in E1, namely punctual and non-punctual.

Punctuality

Under this heading we group simple and perfective aspects.

a Simple Aspect

This refers to a speech event which is punctually determined and which the viewer presents as one whole, finite event as in:

16 I ran 200 metres early this morning
I will arrive at 2 p.m. tomorrow

We also note that the simple aspect is usually found to contrast with either habitual, progressive or perfective aspect in E1, for example:

17 HABITUAL I ran/used to run 200 metres every day.
18 PROGRESSIVE I was running at the time of the accident.
19 PERFECTIVE I have run there many times in the past.

From the above examples it is clear that overt simple aspect is indicated by the verb base (Vb) inflected for tense and that in some tenses it may appear in the same form as habitual aspect.

b Perfective Aspect

This refers to an event which has reached completion. It is therefore clearly completed and finalised at the time of speaking or in relation to the speaker's standpoint at the time of speaking. In that sense it can be interpreted as a punctual event marker since it is perceived as temporally defined.

It is often contrasted with the habitual aspect as well as the simple aspect as in the examples below:

20	PERFECTIVE	I have seen my relatives for the first time this year.
21	HABITUAL	I used to see my relatives twice a year in the past.
22	SIMPLE	I saw my relatives on two occasions this year.

It does not, however, contrast with progressivity, and in fact often combines with it as in:

23 I have just been writing my mother a letter.

What the two aspects above have in common is the clear time delimitation around each one. In other words, the focus is on the oneness and indivisibility of the speech event under discussion. Comrie (1976.18) gives quite an appealing image when he suggests that in this case the event is "reduced to a blob" while the internal complexity of the action is ignored.

We could expand this further and consider the two examples below:

24 I ran at 8 o'clock this morning.
By 8 o'clock I had run 1000 metres.

Of examples (24) we could say that, for both, the event is being regarded and perceived as a whole regardless of potential interference, regardless say of whether I run regularly or not or whether anything happened while I was running. If the latter two eventualities were of interest to us, then aspectual marking would be non-punctual, and we shall see examples of this below.

Non-Punctuality

There are two aspects in E1 which allow for description of the internal characteristics of an event, giving an opportunity to highlight the dynamics under which the event was conducted.

a Habitual Aspect

If the event under consideration is perceived as a regular event, pertaining to one's routine, and the actual timing is left unspecified, then it is marked for the category of habitual aspect. As shown above, indication of that category is not always explicit:

25 I used to run/I would run/I ran every day as a child.
After school I run home.

It is worth noting here, as in the latter example in (25) above, that present tense verb base (Vb) is more often likely to signify habitual aspect than simple aspect since the act of speaking and the event are rarely simultaneous and seldom overlap completely.

b Progressive Aspect

If an event is perceived as non-habitual and yet non-punctual, in the sense that one could pinpoint a punctual event within the potential duration or unravelled stretch of the event under scrutiny, then it is said to be progressive or continuous. For example:

26 I was running when he fell in front of me.
PROGRESSIVE PUNCTUAL

Both Scheffer (1975) and Adamczewski (1974) summarise the main arguments and generally reiterate the views of Joos (1964) on "temporary aspect," and also Palmer (1968), according to whom "duration" is the key concept. The overriding argument in most of these studies is that whichever notion the "Be + Ving" form is associated with, someone else seems to find an example that shows that it can transcend this concept. An example to prove this is the often quoted:

27 At last I am seeing New York.

for which terms like continuous/progressive or even durative do not seem to apply, since it indicates a momentary action, which does not however reflect single instantaneity but infers a certain "lasting-ness".

Perhaps at this point Comrie's approach can be of help again. He identifies what he calls the most typical subdivisions of imperfectivity (or non-punctuality) for E1, which he points out cover a unified category in other languages and gives the examples of French:

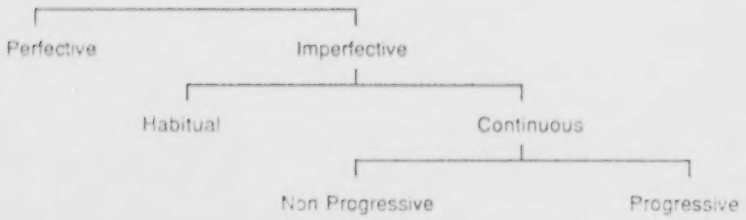
28 Il lisait *le Monde*.

which translates into English as:

"He used to read *le Monde* " or "He was reading *le Monde* ".

since the French does not distinguish between habitual and progressive aspect in its verbal inflection (Comrie 1976:25-26). Below is a reproduction of Comrie's divisions for aspect which, he argues, apply in many languages. This classification is not only of help for the interpretation of E1 aspect but will also be of relevance to our study of PNG aspect.

Table 2: Classification of Aspectual Oppositions in Many Languages



(from Comrie 1976:25)

He also makes the interesting point that progressiveness is a sub-category of continuousness which itself he defines as non-habituality. With this in mind he shows that some verb phrases are to be classed as non-progressive formally but are really continuous semantically as in:

29 "John knew that he was speaking too quickly"
NON-PROGRESSIVE (continuous) PROGRESSIVE (continuous)

where "knew" is non-progressive, but has a value of continuity about it and in a non-habitual context would translate into French as:

30 "Jean savait qu'il parlait trop vite" (Comrie 1976:34)

So the English progressiveness marked by "Be + Ving" he defines as "the combination of progressive meaning and non-stative meaning" (1976:35). He also points out that stative verbs like "understand" can in some contexts refer to a developing process as in:

31 "I'm understanding more about quantum mechanic as each day goes by" (1976:36).

Finally another important point he makes is that the English progressive can refer to a habitual event over a limited period of time as in examples of this type:

32 "We're going to the Opera a lot these days"

In conclusion, therefore, he suggests that the meaning of the progressive has transcended the original definition of progressivity as a combination of continuous meaning and non-stativity, and puts forward the idea that it may be moving in the direction of indicating "a temporary (contingent) state" which would allow, for example, for accidental habituality (1976:38).

A diagram summarising the E1 aspectual system is outlined below:

Table 3: Summary of E1 Aspect Marking

Punctuality	Non-Punctuality
Simple Aspect I ran there only yesterday at 8	Progressive Aspect I was running for a while this morning before 8
I had run (to that spot) by 8 o'clock yesterday Perfective Aspect	I used to run everyday at 8 I often run in the mornings at 8 Habitual Aspect

Methodology

In order to examine aspect usage in PNGE, two passages were submitted to detailed analysis. These passages were chosen because they appeared representative of natural language and also because they were long enough to yield sufficient evidence. These are SAR B and MOG's interviews, transcripts of about 3500 words each which have been recorded separately. The texts were obtained during direct interview sessions or using the "adapting devices" of the type suggested by Labov (1972:209-212). Data from these will be presented together with examples gathered from more casual observations over several years of interaction with acrolect speakers in an attempt to build up a comprehensive picture of the principles governing aspect marking in PNGE.

At the onset of the analysis of the two transcripts, in order to keep the focus on PNGE usages of aspect clear, it was decided to exclude from our count any irregular verb phrases of the type "do" or "have," as they also had an auxiliary role. It soon became evident that non-dynamic or stative verb phrases behaved differently with respect to aspectual distinctions, so stative verbs were also kept out of the analysis as were verbs with inherent stative meaning, for example "be" or "become" (see Quirk and Greenbaum 1973:47). Further, it was also decided to ignore verb phrases in the passive voice as they too were observed not to carry aspectual distinctions in the same way as active verb phrases do. Finally, for practical reasons again, we opted to focus on finite verb phrases only. So in the following report of findings the verb phrases being quoted from the interviews will exclusively be from a set of active, dynamic, finite verb phrases. Further mention must be made of the fact that this study looks at tense and mood separately, although the link between tense, mood and aspect was often felt to be quite evident, as well as inextricably intertwined.

Having accepted as basic the punctual (simple + perfective) vs non-punctual (habitual + progressive) distinction suggested by Bickerton, we can look to Bickerton again for subtypes of non-punctual. In what he terms a "typical" system (in reference to creole languages), he suggests a division very like the one illustrated by Comrie (1976:25) reproduced in Table 2 above. Bickerton associates progressive with durative, to which we associate the concept of intensity, and opposes these to habitual and iterative which are linked by the idea of

"repetitiveness". By adopting such a contrast we have two clear categories which we shall name "habituality" and "durativity".

A summary of aspect marking by speaker will appear at the end of each section, while a summary chart will accompany the conclusion.

Punctual Aspect in PNG English

As in E1, there are two types of speech events that go under this heading. We shall give one the term "simple" aspect and keep the term "perfective" aspect for the other one.

a. Simple Aspect

Examples which indicate that the event is considered to be temporarily specified and perceived as one single event are illustrated below:

33 In the morning, I went to Boroko.
After breakfast I had my wash.

Examples (33) represent the most typical uses and can be pinpointed in time with the help of an adverbial time marker. They are also quite similar to E1 usage, and in the same way appear to be used in correlation with past tense marking. For our two speakers the percentage of simple aspect use in conjunction with overt past tense marking is 56% for MOG and 41.6% for SAR. This however is a conservative estimate since some verb phrases which appear formally unmarked for past can be asserted to be past semantically as illustrated by two samples from both speaker's discourse:

34 MOG 1, 9 we went back, we go back
SAR B XI, 5 he said, he says to me.

Besides the above unmarked past tenses used side by side with the marked ones, there are examples of "unmarked" verb phrases which appear thus for phonological reasons (discussed in Smith 1984) as in:

35 JED (3, 6) : I saw John and he ask me ...

We note that if ever simple aspect is used with a non-past it tends to be accompanied by a deictic marker of either time or place, at least by MOG:

36 MOG 12, 38 : I strongly go for Pidgin as a national language. (pointing to entry space in questionnaire)

MOG 11, 23 : ... the language we should emphasise more in this country at the moment should be Pidgin.

In the two examples above, the emphasis, as shown by the underlining, seems on the "here and now" quality of the event.

Particularly interesting in association with "simple" aspect is the use of negative adverbial *never* as in:

37 "He never told me"

It is striking to note that for the one speaker (MOG 1, 16-17) who uses simple aspect in the negative, the adverbial *never* is invariably used as the negator, in the sense of *not even once*, and also that his use of this exhibits some similarities with some dialects of E1, notably some Australian and British working class sociolects.

Simple aspect thus seems to generally be marked by the verb base (Vb), with or without the past marker, and with or without a time adverbial, which we could summarise in the following formula:

Vb (past) (time adverbial)

There are, however, a variety of further options for indicating simple aspect. These tendencies have been noted in a cross-section of both spoken and written discourse as performed by different speakers. The examples below illustrate the alternative expressions for simple aspect:

38 I never saw your note because I had not come to the office.
The men had used force and so a man had to lose his life.
He gave away [the leadership] without having to discuss it.
The Minister had praised the Provincial Government when handing the Premier a cheque for K2000.

What all the above examples seem to have in common is perhaps the presence of a "dummy" auxiliary *have* or *have to*, which might act as a signal for simple aspect marking and we could present it thus:

have to/had to + Vb
(had) + V past.

Possibly one reason why this "dummy auxiliary" technique may have been developed could be as an avoidance technique, since it has the effect of limiting the

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

variants of any one Vb, and therefore may act as a separate syntactic vehicle to carry the necessary aspectual distinction. This principle is said to operate with language learners of French for example, (and even L1 speakers of French) who are said to favour the use of formulae like:

Je vais + Vb.
Je viens de + Vb.

rather than the complex inflections of the verb root to mark the future tense (Richards 1974:32-33). The tendency exemplified in (38) - the "dummy auxiliary" tactic - is becoming so strong that in the speech of highly educated Papua New Guineans there is very little, if any, use of "had + Ved" as a past perfective as it is used in E1; the following example illustrates the PNGE value of "had + Ved" as a single aspect marker in the past tense:

39 A purse went missing this morning; if anyone had picked it up, please return to the desk.

In (39) above the "if" clause assumes a non-perfective event equivalent to E1. "If anyone (by chance) picked it up"...

b. Perfective Aspect

When associatd with *have*, the perfective aspect is used in PNGE very much as in E1 to mark the completion of an action in relation to the speaker's standpoint.

Again there is a variety of ways, including the E1 pattern, that an action can be shown to be perfective or completed in PNGE, as shown in the three examples below:

40 I have seen it
She finish
I saw it already

Perfective is most frequently marked by the E1 form rather than as in the first example in (40) above by "have + Ved". But there are several examples to show that it is possible to have an ellipsis of the auxiliary *have*. In fact MOG and SAR both use this ellipsis technique as in:

41 MOG 1, 18 I been to University.
SAR A 24, 1 This exercise been done.

Another feature illustrated by the examples above is the possibility of expressing perfectivity by means of adverbial marking using "already" in the positive and "yet" in the negative. JED gives two samples:

42 JED : 19, 1 I did not finish yet
JED : 4, 11 I was lazy already

The adverbials seem to be able to carry completion to such an extent that even the content verb can be omitted in some cases as evidenced by:

43 The drums are already. Gloss : ... have been delivered.
[notice informing players all is set for a "singsing"]
It's not yet. Gloss : It's not yet fixed.
[response informing client that a telephone line has not been repaired]

Labov (1969:55) argues that "done" and "already" could be seen as completive markers in BEV and, following this, Platt & Weber (1980:81) isolate the same sort of use for "already" in Singapore English, exemplifying it with:

44 "I left school already three years"

giving the following gloss:

"I left school three years ago" (Platt & Weber 1980:66).

Finally, one more extension of the perfective aspect is that, just as in E1, it can combine with the durative:

45 What the student here been observing in National High School is...

This however is not used very frequently (about 16%).

There is also a certain amount of overlap between the perfective aspect focusing on the completion process and the simple aspect focusing on the fact that completion has been arrived at. We have observed a tendency to put the two forms side by side as in the examples below:

46 After the meeting was held or has been held...
SAR B X1,13 I am very sympathetic with what has happened, what happened to you.
MOG 4, 13-14 who came in, who's come to serve the community

For this phenomenon several interpretations are possible. One is overlap of the two categories. Another is ellipsis of the auxiliary "have" or alternately its

insertion, as if the speaker felt a need for correction. Yet another is free variation or possibly code switching between two different speech lects. (We shall find further evidence of this switching tactic at the lexical level: see Smith forthcoming).

Overall, there is not much variance in usage of punctual aspect marking by the two speakers, except for the ratio of perfective aspect marking which is much higher in SAR than in MOG. It appears that the reason for this apparent discrepancy is that most of the perfective verb phrases used by MOG were formulated in the passive voice which were excluded from our frequency counts for reasons outlined in the section on Methodology.

Table 4: Punctual Aspect Usage in 2 Speakers

TEXT	SAR B		MOG	
No of VPs	44 VPs		53 VPs	
Aspect	Simple 24	Perfective have + Ved 20	Simple 41	Perfective Have + Ved 12
		With Durative 1 (5%)		with Durative 2 (16.6%)
Other	Past Tense 10 (41.6%) HAD TO 0 HAD + Ved	without have 0	Past Tense 23 (36%) HAD TO 0 HAd + Ved	without have 4 (36.3%)

Non-Punctual Aspect in PNG English

In contrast with the low frequency of punctual aspect, non-punctual aspect appears to be more widely used. For example both speakers in our study use it around 80% of the time, and it has been observed to be widely used by many speakers.

Perhaps because it is defined negatively we find that it also can embrace a large range of nuances, all having in common the fact that they refer to temporarily unspecified speech events and non-perfective events which might, so to speak, refer to an open-ended "slice of life" (as opposed to punctual events which would refer to specific episodes).

We have seen earlier that non-punctual aspectual distinctions are variable across languages and that many languages divide this concept differently. Our initial observations have guided us towards the two opposing categories below, which we have termed habituality and durativity.

a. Habituality

Under this heading we shall group all verb phrases which are not perceived as punctiliar or perfective from the speaker's standpoint, but instead habitual and customary within a speech situation.

Examples of these can be heard in daily conversation:

47 We do sell key rings, but we have run out.
The fan usually brings up dust and I get sick.
I always call around to see her after work.
Yes, he can chew betel nut; I always see him do it.
We make this kind of fun and we walk together.

Habitual aspect is also very common in the two speakers under study: in fact it is the most frequent of all aspect marking; it is found 60% of the time in MOG's speech and 53% in SAR's speech.

About half of the habitual "unmarked VPs" (those in which the VP contains Vb only, very much as in E1), are not overtly marked. This unmarked type occurs 55.9% of the time that habituality is indicated in MOG's speech while it appears 46% in SAR's. The context sometimes offers a clue to the habitual nature of an unmarked habitual VP, e.g., by an adverbial of frequency:

48 MOG 1,1 One of this language that they use mostly in the villages is either Pidgin or English.

Unmarked habitual VPs aside, we are left with a considerable amount of habituality (44.1% for MOG and 53.9% for SAR) which is marked more overtly: we shall call these "marked" habituals, and note that on the whole they would remain overtly unmarked in E1.

Examples (49) below provide us with a cross-section of the type of marking used to indicate habituality. Auxiliaries are used commonly, it seems, particularly *do* and *can*, but also other one-word auxiliaries and "periphrastic" auxiliaries which consist of more than one word; e.g.:

49 You use to look at these things carefully, but me I don't.
Students would continue to leave ID cards with the Library staff.
They tend to have the hedge over Papua New Guineans.
So painful but at that time I couldn't feel the pain.

To expand on this type of marker as used by other speakers, we shall look at the frequency of usage for our two speakers.

Can as a regular marker: MOG Uses *can* some of the time (22.5%) but SAR uses it much more (40.3%).

50 MOG 12, 39 I would say that English and Pidgin can better be used.
SAR B VIII, 13 That is one established institution we can effectively use

Alternative single auxiliaries:

> The alternatives to *can* to indicate habituality, in order of frequency of occurrence, are *will*, *could* and *would*.

Altogether those are used 49.2% of the time that habituality is marked by auxiliary in MOG's speech, whereas in SAR's speech the marking by alternative single auxiliaries is done 15% of the time only. Also it is worth noting that for MOG each of the listed auxiliaries (*will*, *would* and *could*) appears nearly as frequently as *can* whereas for SAR *can* is outstandingly the most frequent single auxiliary.

There is a case to be made on the semantic implication of any one of these "single auxiliaries": they could be viewed as free variation occurrences of *can* which might appear at different levels of frequency within different speakers, or as depending perhaps on factors like the level of education of the speaker. Here are samples of alternative free variation usage by MOG:

51 MOG 5, 5; 5, 3 we could also use Pidgin in the village/then you would use Pidgin.
MOG 2, 10; 2, 7 the person whom I will speak English to is my school mate/ I would normally speak English with them.

So, of speaker MOG it could be said that there appears to be evidence of free variation in the use of the above auxiliaries. Before we note the compound use of auxiliaries, there is one more point to be noted on the specific auxiliary *would* with the possibility that the same may apply to *could*. It seems that *would* particularly may exhibit an extra connotation. Besides its use as a habitual marker it often seems to infer the notion of potentiality or irrealis; for example:

52 SAR B X,3 in the next few months we would probably look more into.
... so that students could critically examine and analyse the
... policies. Students would also be encouraged to discuss ...

It is interesting to note however, that, according to Platt & Weber (1980:69), the same occurs in Singapore English. We discuss this in full in a separate discussion on mood.

Periphrastic Auxiliaries or Other Habitual Markers

Any one of these, as mentioned earlier, may carry modal connotations but again these are not discussed here (Smith forthcoming). Focusing only on our two speakers, the variety of periphrastic auxiliaries is great and they range both formally and semantically from closer to E1 to less close to E1.

be able to	want to	supposed to
have to	tend to	(be) likely to (MOG)
need to	be going to	be prepared to (SAR)
got to	know how to	

The two speakers under scrutiny seem to make use of the majority of those except for isolated free variation on the last two as indicated above.

Interpretations could include the one of first language interference and it could be argued that Tok Pisin or other PNG languages possibly provide the speaker with a variety of markers that could be said to be transferable. The Tok Pisin habitual marker "save" could give "know how to" as in Tok Pisin "em i save rit":

53 MOG 13, 11 diden know how to read and write
SAR B V, A don't know how to go about it

while the intentional or potential marker "laik" could produce "likely to" or "like to" as in Tok Pisin "em i laik singaut". Dutton (1973:250) points to the parallelism of these two structures. Examples (54) below show similarity of patterning:

54 they likely to become a vicious circle
we like to send our congratulations to you

Another interpretation would be the one recognised as an avoidance of inflection strategy which would favour the use of circumlocutory phrases since these tend to be followed by the verb base, thereby avoiding the variants necessarily used when marking is involved. This is a similar principle to the one described in the section on punctual aspect.

Finally, one point that draws our attention is the fact that some of the periphrastic usages are combined with the full modal value as in E1, whereas others are not. It seems for example that *have to*, if it is not used in a punctual sense, retains its full value of compulsory obligation, and *be able to* is a regular way of expressing capability. It is when some modal markers happen to combine with the aspect variants of habituality that the constructions *will be able to, should be able to, can be able to* are obtained.

This contrasts to some extent with E1 where the latter two constructions are not allowable. This PNGE-specific construction is illustrated by the example below:

55 "We would be looking at [them] so that we could be able to see what [they represent]..."

which although it does not appear in either transcript for MOG or SAR is quite common among more highly educated Papua New Guineans. We shall exemplify these in a study on mood (Smith, forthcoming).

To conclude the section on habituality we can say that the notion of habitual aspect seems to be carried by auxiliaries like "can" and its variants as well as by unmarking. The degree of marking varies with the speaker and so do the variants of the auxiliaries.

b. Durativity

The main characteristics of this other type of non-punctual aspect, for which the event is being perceived from within, are the duration and intensity of the event over an idefinite period of time.

The examples below illustrate this as well as the contrast within non-punctual aspect between habituality and durativity.

56 I always hear people are dying every month.
HABITUAL DURATIVE

In the above sentence the process of "hearing" is perceived to be taking place as if the speaker referred to a regular event whereas the "dying" process is conceived of from the point of view of intensity over time as if the speaker was momentarily placing him/herself in the "real situation", and perceiving the death process as it is being developed.

The next example is a contrast taken from SAR between habitual aspect as in:

57 SAR B II, 4 I think we make the problem of law and order ourselves.

and durative aspect as in:

58 SAR B II, 6 We are not responsible enough to admit that we are making a mistake.

Durative aspect is used as a non-punctual, it appears overall to follow E1 patterning of the type "Be + Ving" for both speakers.

Be + Ving

It is interesting to note that within this aspect again we encounter a common way of marking durativity. It seems that the use of Be + Ving covers the majority of uses. It amounts to 60.75% by MOG and even more by SAR (67.25%).

It is within this group that we note a striking feature which is evidenced by example (56) quoted above, the fact that some durativity can combine with habituality and imply both aspects. It might be remembered here that Comrie's suggestion was that progressivity (or durativity) was a subsidiary of habituality. For the sake of this study we have decided to keep the two categories separate and therefore to classify as durative any durative/habitual verb phrase.

Periphrastic Auxiliaries

In the same way as habituality was marked by a variety of signals, durativity also exhibits the use of some periphrastic auxiliaries such as *want to* , *going to* and *trying to* . This time we deal with one main one only: *to try to* as exemplified below:

59 I am trying to look at my diary [while giving an appointment]
We trying to adopt or we've been adopting [this scheme]

It must be stated here that the speakers when using the phrase *try to* do not imply a connotation of hesitation, or attempt. The phrase *try to* must not be interpreted as it would normally be interpreted by non-PNGE speakers. Semantically *try to* could be paraphrased in E1 as *spend some time + Ving* which would give for example:

Gloss: Myself I find when I go home, I spend all the time speaking in my language.

The focus there again is on the duration and intensity of the event regardless of its potential habituality.

The above uses of *try to* appear slightly more frequently in SAR (18.9%) than in MOG's speech (13.7%). The usage of *try to* as a habitual marker perhaps even more so than for habitual markers, suggests the avoidance strategy mentioned earlier. Evidence of this comes from the observation that *try to* is very often used in a variety of forms, themselves carrying the tenses and even further aspectual distinctions as shown below:

60 MOG 2. 2 ... with my father and mother I try to use the local vernacular [speakers fluent in L1]

MOG 2, 11 ... the ones who have finished grade 6 I would at least try to talk to them in Pidgin. [speakers fluent in Tok Pisin]

SAR B V, 29 I think I have tried to justify by answering your question

SAR B VI, 9 decisions whereby we can try to help people....

Under durative periphrastic marking we have two more features for discussion, and these are the relationship between durativity and stativity as well as with instantaneity. In PNGE the notion of durativity seems to transcend semantic stativity in the verb phrase. Although we have not counted its frequency in our two speakers, we have observed the following patterns to recur consistently enough to deserve a mention; the examples below were all spoken by post-secondary-schooled Papua New Guineans:

61 We are knowing more about the Present Continuous.
I forgot what I was having in the parcel.

Finally we decided to include a last type of periphrastic auxiliary under the durative category which consists of a group of verb phrases we have termed "instantaneous" as they either start (inchoative) or terminate (completive) an event or action. Here are some examples of completive:

62 Stop finishing the coffee
Stop claiming girls (JED 13,10)

while below are some samples of inchoative:

63 MOG 6, 19 They start leaving
MOG 6, 21 They are suppose to stop speaking language

SAR strangely enough did not use this type of marker. So this category can be said to be rare in some speakers and not very common in others as it accounts for only 11.7% of MOG's overall durative aspect markers. It was decided to interpret them as non-punctual rather than as punctual, contrary to Freed (1979:15) as quoted in our introduction, because whenever they were encountered in MOG's speech they appeared to have a non-punctual value.

Comparing habituality and durativity for both speakers, it could be said that "unmarked" habituality (Vb only) is a smaller category of overall habituality whereas "plain" (Be + Ving) durative marking is a larger category of overall durative marking. In other words, both speakers seem to feel that there is a need to indicate habituality with a marker, perhaps more so than with durativity which might be perceived to be already quite "distinctively" marked by BE + Ving (which is more

noticeable say than just Vb). So this might also mean that for durativity Be + Ving seems more adequate than Vb only for habituality.

The above would confirm a possible view that PNGE speakers have a need to mark aspect and therefore Be + Ving seems to be treated like the unexceptional marking of durativity while habituality seems to undergo more changes from normal E1 usage to fill this need.

Table 5: Non Punctual Aspect - Usage by 2 Speakers

TEXT No of VP	SAR B 173		MOG 212	
Aspect: DURATIVE	HABITUAL	DURATIVE	HABITUAL	
"UNMARKED" (E1 pattern)	(115) "Plain" (+ adverbials) 53	(58) Be + Ving 39	(161) 90	(51) 31
"MARKED" (other pattern)	62 (53.9%) CAN : 25 COULD : 1 WILL : 5 WOULD : 2 OTHER : 29	19 (32.6%) TRY TO : 11 OTHER : WILL WOULD : 8 SHOULD WANT TO	71 (44.1%) CAN : 16 COULD : 10 WILL : 14 WOULD : 11 OTHER : 20	20 (39.1%) TRY TO : 7 INSTANT : 6 OTHER : WILL WOULD : 7 GOING TO

CONCLUSION

Our conclusion of this study on aspect seems to point us towards some interesting questions as far as any trends are concerned. We have seen that the PNGE verb phrase follows E1 model for about half the time but that for the other half, aspect is more overtly marked than in E1. The marking technique itself may have developed as a consequence of second language learning strategies. One of these, often referred to as generalisation, may have resulted in a high frequency of avoidance as it may have been perceived as complexity of verbal inflections. Interestingly this technique seems to have eventually led to a "dummy auxiliary+Vb" strategy, and that has created what appears to be a more syntactically complex verb phrase, which would be characteristic of PNGE.

Summary Chart: PNGE Aspect Marking

PUNCTUAL		NON PUNCTUAL	
Complete, perfective, temporally specified events		Incomplete, imperfective, untemporally specified events	
SIMPLE	PERFECTIVE	HABITUAL	DURATIVE
Vb (Past) (Adv)	(have) + Ved	Vb (usually/normally)	Be + Ving
I arrive(d) (yesterday)	I (have) been to University	The fan (usually) brings dust	when you are interpreting for somebody
have to + Vb	Vb (Past) + already/not yet	can/do/will + Vb	try to + Vb
without having to discuss it	She finish(ed) already	...small police post where people can ring. ...we do sell these	try to speak to parents in language
had + Ved		tend to + Vb/ -	instant + Ving
I never saw your note because I had not come to the office till now		use to + Vb	stop finishing the coffee
		You use to look at these but I don't	

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LANGUAGE ATTITUDES AND THE SOCIAL ORDER IN HONG KONG AFTER 1997

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INTRODUCTION

At present most of the voices that one hears in Hong Kong are speaking either Cantonese or English. In this time of political transition, however, keener interest is already being shown in Putonghua and one does on occasion hear China's national language on the streets of Hong Kong. As Hong Kong moves towards 1997, the date when sovereignty over Hong Kong will return to China, the constellation of language patterns will undoubtedly change and the focus of language learning efforts may possibly shift.

Pierson wonders whether Cantonese will eventually become "the language of intimacy, English the language of technology and development, and Putonghua the language of politics and administration" (1987:81), but Bauer feels that the impact of the political changes on the speech community are predictable now:

> Namely, that Putonghua will displace English to become Hong Kong's new language of political power as well as its official, prestige language which the new government authorities will expect the people of Hong Kong to learn to speak (1984:38).

As Bauer rightly goes on to say, language is a symbol as well as a means of communication, and "one highly-visible symbol of China demonstrating that it exercises sovereignty over Hong Kong would be the implementation of Putonghua as the official language used by government officials, school teachers, etc." (1984:38).

The differences between Cantonese and Putonghua pronunciation and grammatical structure have already received some investigative attention: testing and evaluation procedures for proficiency in Putonghua have also been discussed. (See, for example, Liang 1982; Sham 1985; Si 1985; Symposium 1985). However, few questions have yet been raised about areas of language study beyond these more purely linguistic and pedagogical ones.

The purpose of this paper is to raise just such questions. It will do so first by referring to the results of a pilot study done in Guangzhou; and second it will report the results of a companion study done with university students in Hong Kong.

THE PILOT STUDY

The matched guise procedure as a technique has been discussed elsewhere (see, for example, Anisfeld et al., 1964; Lambert et al., 1960, 1965, 1966; Lyczak et al., 1976; Wolck, 1973) and the limitations of attitude studies have been discussed fully in Ryan and Giles, 1982. What we would like to describe here is the rationale for choosing Guangzhou as the location for the pilot study; we would also like to discuss the method and procedures for the study and the results that emerged from it.

The Rationale

During the past decade educators have complained that the standard of both Chinese and English among Hong Kong students has been declining. In recent years, the Education Department has introduced a number of measures to help improve this situation. One measure to upgrade the standard in Chinese has been to reintroduce Putonghua in schools after a period of more than twenty years. This has been done in the hope of minimising interference from spoken Cantonese which syntactically differs considerably from written Standard Chinese. Whether this approach is pedagogically effective or not and whether it is practicable in terms of finances and availability of trained teachers has yet to be seen; but first, we should ask whether this plan is one which the students and the public can readily accept as a reasonable and appropriate educational measure. For some insight into this last question we can look to the experience of mainland China.

China has more than 50 ethnic groupings among its people. To facilitate communication among them, Putonghua has been standard spoken Chinese and the official dialect ever since the establishment of the People's Republic in 1949. When Putonghua is transcribed into written characters, it is, of all the spoken varieties of the Chinese language, closest to the written form of Standard Chinese in its linguistic features.

Today, large areas of China (in particular the far-west provinces and, strangely, given its political and economic significance, a large part of Guangdong province) still have difficulties in promoting the official dialect. During a visit to several Chinese educational institutes, one of the writers was told by an official from the Guangzhou Municipal Education Bureau that only "key-point" schools in urban Guangzhou used Putonghua as the teaching medium. The rest of the schools in the city used Cantonese and a vast number of schools in the agricultural counties and villages used Cantonese or a local dialect as the medium of instruction.

Given this situation, it was therefore felt that, despite differences in the nature of the governments of the two areas, Guangzhou and Hong Kong share many ethnic and linguistic similarities which would give rise to interesting comparisons if not conclusions. It would be precipitate, of course, to relate the Guangzhou situation to the Hong Kong situation too directly, but it was felt that if attitudinal factors did play a part in the present Guangzhou situation, there might be some grounds for looking at the Hong Kong situation in the same light.

Method and Procedures

The Language. Two varieites of spoken Chinese were chosen: Putonghua (Modern Standard Chinese) and Cantonese (as it is spoken in Guangzhou). These differ widely enough in their pronunciations as to be virtually unintelligible to a monolingual speaker of the other variety.

The Respondents. The subjects were adult students at the Modern English Language Centre in Guangzhou. They had all completed middle school and most of them were in their early twenties. They were either working or waiting for job allocations. Thirty-eight respondents were randomly selected from four intermediate English classes and were divided into two groups: each group included nine males and ten females. The respondents, while mainly native-Cantonese, were all true bidialectals. A few of them had come to Guangzhou from the north at a very early age but they had acquired a native competence in Cantonese.

The Guise. Three male speakers were selected for the experiment. One was a Cantonese who had lived and taught in Beijing for twenty years and was regarded as a native Putonghua speaker by Beijing natives. One was a Kiangsu native brought up in Hong Kong who was completely fluent in the two varieties and who taught the subjects of Chinese language and Putonghua in Hong Kong schools. The third was a Hong Kong born Cantonese who had studied Putonghua beyond the intermediate level. Each read the same script twice (once in Cantonese, once in Putonghua), making a total of six guises.

The Tapes. Two tapes were prepared, one with a Putonghua introduction and the other with a Cantonese introduction. Altogether there were six guises on each tape.

The Script. A careful attempt was made to avoid emotive language in the script and sensitive topics in the content, as well as any Chinese linguistic markers that might in themselves cause a negative reaction in the listener. To avoid

interference of this kind, a simple narrative written by one of the writers was used in an attempt to keep bias to a minimum (see Appendix 1).

Procedures. The two groups of respondents used separate classrooms on separate floors so that the sounds from the tape recorders would not interfere with each other. Both groups started at the same time. Group A listened to instructions given in Putonghua by the supervisor on how to mark the attitude scale and Group B listened to Cantonese instructions. Such instructions were important since students in China are not used to doing multiple choice questions. The instructions were the same for both groups. After the supervisors had given all instructions, the tapes were played beginning with the introduction (See Appendix 1). After each reading there was a pause so that respondents could rate the speakers on a fifteen item attitudinal differential scale (See Appendix 2) given to them in Chinese. When the scales for the six guises were all completed, respondents then filled in an information sheet about themselves (see Appendix 3). Each group took approximately 50 minutes to finish the task.

Results

At statistically significant levels (of at least .05), our results show that the respondents in Guangzhou felt that the Putonghua guises were more knowledgeable, successful and ambitious than the Cantonese ones; that the Cantonese guises were more humble, gentle, realistic and modest than were the Putonghua guises (see Appendix 4 for details).

THE COMPANION STUDY

The Rationale

We have already referred to the year 1997 as a date of great political significance for Hong Kong. China will then regain its sovereignty over the currently British-held territory. The question is frequently asked: what will happen in Hong Kong in 1997? One Hong Kong educator answered this question by responding, "Ask me again in 1998." No one can be absolutely sure now what will happen at that time, but there seems to be at least three tentative reactions. Britain's reaction is a concentration, it would seem, on handing over to China a growing and going concern: there is a great deal of building going on in the territory and there are plans for new tunnels, a new airport, new satellite towns. China seems primarily interested in maintaining the "prosperity and stability" of Hong Kong and counsels calmness and moderation. At the street level, many citizens seem to be saying "I don't know what will happen but I'm not taking any unnecessary chances." Those

who have choices send family members to other countries for education or citizenship purposes; those who do not have these choices can only wait and see.

Given the intensity of both the concern about and the debate over this issue in recent years, and given the fact that the official stand on languages in Hong Kong will undoubtedly change with the government, it was felt that companion data to the Guangzhou study could usefully be gathered in Hong Kong.

Method and Procedures

The Language. Again Putonghua and Cantonese were the two varieties of spoken Chinese chosen but this time the Cantonese chosen was that variety of Cantonese spoken in Hong Kong. The speaker of each variety was again rated on the same fifteen item attitudinal differential scale (see Appendix 2) written in Chinese.

The Respondents. The subjects were 123 university students in Hong Kong and had an average age of 21. Most of the respondents were in a Putonghua language program at the university or had been asked to self-report their comprehension ability in spoken Putonghua to ensure that they all had the ability to understand simple spoken Putonghua. It was felt necessary to ensure this fact even though comprehension of content was not central to this study in order to minimize "panic" reactions among the subjects when listening to the tapes.

The Guise. Three male speakers were selected who were strong in both spoken Putonghua and Hong Kong Cantonese. One was a native Cantonese speaker with native-competency in Putonghua who had a doctorate in communications and experience teaching both Putonghua and English. One was a Hong Kong born Cantonese speaker who had learned Putonghua for two years during primary school, had worked in Guangzhou for two years and had acquired a near-native competency in Putonghua. The third was a Shanghai Chinese who had lived in Malaysia for many years and had taught in Malaysian schools using Putonghua as the medium of instruction; he had native competency in Putonghua. Each read the script twice (once in Cantonese, once in Putonghua), making a total of six guises.

The Tapes. As before, two tapes were prepared. One began with a Putonghua introduction and six guises in a particular sequence and the other began with a Cantonese introduction and the same six guises in a different sequence.

The Script. The script which had been used in the Guangzhou study was not entirely appropriate for the Hong Kong context in that Hong Kong does not have

"guest houses" in the mainland sense of that term nor does it have a "national" universities examination. The script used for the Hong Kong study appears in Appendix 1.

Procedures. For reasons of convenience, the respondents were asked to listen to the tapes in their own regularly scheduled class periods. Seven administrations were therefore carried out. Three of the groups listened to the tape with Putonghua instructions and four listened to the Cantonese instructions. As before, time was given after each reading so the resopndents could rate the speakers on the scale provided. Respondents were also asked to fill in the information sheet about themselves. They took approximately 30 minutes to finish the evaluations. Less time was required than in the Guangzhou study because the Hong Kong respondents were familiar with testing procedures and rating scales and therefore needed little or no explanation or direction. (The Guanzhou group had needed considerable assistance in this respect).

Results

At statistically significant levels (of at least .05), our results show that respondents in Hong Kong perceive the Cantonese guises that they heard to be more humble, liberal, realistic, politically conservative, and to have come from a relatively more unknown school than did the Putonghua guises (see Appendix 5 for details).

To repeat: in the Guangzhou study the Putonghua guises were perceived to be more knowledgeable, successful and ambitious whereas the Cantonese guises were perceived to be more humble, gentle, realistic and modest.

Of the items significant in each study only two are common to both: each group of respondents perceived the Cantonese guise to be more humble and more realistic than the Putonghua one (see Appendix 6).

DISCUSSION

While we do not wish to exaggerate the significance of the results we obtained in the pilot and the companion study, we would like to express our conviction that the statistically significant differences on the several traits indicate one thing at least: that the respondents in Guangzhou and Hong Kong perceive Putonghua speakers (traditionally associated with the north) and Cantonese speakers (geographically associated with the south) to be different groups of people and to have different images and characteristics attached to them. It is perhaps this perceived difference which accounts in part for the uneasiness and

uncertainty which cloud the views of so many Hong Kong people as they look ahead towards 1997. If it were truly a case of "we are all Chinese", would that uneasiness remain? Is it this sense of groupness which leads to the natural human fear of that which is not fully known?

In the Hong Kong study the Cantonese guises were perceived to be more humble than the Putonghua ones. One explanation for this might be that the Cantonese have traditionally been a very proud group, exhibiting a strong sense of bonding and togetherness with other Cantonese. Anyone outside this group, even those ethnically Chinese, is labelled "ngoihsáangyáhn" or outsider. It is possible that on the scale presented to them "pride" was seen as the more negative and undesirable attribute and therefore was handed, deserved or not, to the other less preferred group (i.e. the Putonghua speakers).

The next attribute of "liberal" should not be seen as a contradiction to "politically conservative" in that the first trait can mean a state of openness to new things, a greater willingness to be receptive. Political conservatism refers to the reluctance to express or manifest one's political feelings or beliefs too baldly or too willingly. The terms do not necessarily refer, in the Chinese, to the nature of the political beliefs themselves.

The attribute of the Putonghua guise having come from a relatively better known school as well as, in the Guangzhou study, the attributes of "knowledgeable" and "successful" perhaps fit into the fact that Beijing has long been the seat of government and that students in the better schools must have Putonghua in order to succeed. We mentioned earlier the "key-point" schools. These schools have more financial resources from the government, attract the better teachers from among the university graduates, and therefore can command as well a better quality of pupil.

Finally, attributing to the Cantonese the characteristic of being realistic is not at all surprising. This fits easily into the stereotypical reputation of Cantonese people in Hong Kong, at any rate, of being very practical, very pragmatic, and very clear-sighted about how to get ahead. University applications are made to the major departments where the candidate has the best examination results regardless of the student's own preferences or interests. Jobs are frequently sought or chosen largely on the basis of the salary received. In this society of intensely fierce competition - for space, for economic opportunity, for educational advancement - an individual does indeed need to be realistic. There is little place for idealism.

QUESTIONS ARISING

Finally we shall conclude with the suggestion that while people in Hong Kong and Beijing are both ethnically Chinese, there are social and psychological aspects of the situation in Hong Kong which may prevent any shift in language focus from being an automatically simple and predictable one. We must ask whether there are not certain questions which need to be raised in addition to questions about pedagogy and contrastive analysis of Putonghua and Cantonese; we must ask whether there are not also questions which need to be investigated about the image which Hong Kong people have of the Putonghua speaker and about attitudinal aspects of Putonghua language study by a Cantonese speaker.

Bond and Cheung (1984) have already asked one such qeustion: how does experimenter language choice affect the ethnic affirmation of Chinese trilinguals in Hong Kong? The subjects were asked to respond to a measure of traditional Chinese beliefs. Contrary to the researchers' hypothesis, the Hong Kong subjects responded in a more *western* direction rather than a more Chinese direction when the experimenters used Putonghua to address them. This unexpected result combines with the implications of our investigations and the data which we have been discussing in this paper. Together these studies underscore the need to explore more deeply questions relating to the study of Putonghua by Cantonese speakers in Hong Kong.

We need to ask questions such as these: How can we find out in more specific terms how Hong Kong people feel when they hear Putonghua being spoken? Can the uneasiness that many of them apparently feel about their inabilities in Putonghua act as a motivating factor in language study or as a deterrent? Will ethnic identification with China as their motherland constitute a compelling reason for the concentrated study of Putonghua or not? Will the feeling that Putonghua speakers belong to the out-group inhibit or help the study of that dialect? Does the "power" relationship between Cantonese and northern people really exist? And if so, to what extent might it influence the degree to which Putonghua is mastered and used in places such as Hong Kong which are geographically far away from Beijing? Does the stereotypical connection of Putonghua speakers with the more prestigious schools and with greater political activism likewise have any affect? Do Cantonese speakers really see themselves to be more humble, liberal, realistic and politically conservative?

And if so, would they prefer to stay that way?

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TAPE INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this experiment is to investigate the ability of people to judge personality from voice. Very often when we are listening to broadcasts on the radio or to the voice of a speaker we cannot see, we make judgments about the speaker. The purpose of this experiment is to find out how accurate these judgments are.

You will hear six voices. Please use the scales on the questionnaire to judge each of the six voices. Please consider all the squares and not just those in the middle. Do not bother about the language or accent of the speakers. Just pay attention to their voices.

TAPE SCRIPT: GUA!!GZHOU

There are five persons in Mr. Wong's family. His eldest son is 24 and has been working in a guest house for 2 years. The second daughter is 21. She has just been allocated a job as a factory worker in the suburbs. Wong's third son is 18 and is studying in a senior middle school and will take part in the National Post-secondary Colleges and Universities Entrance Examination next year.

Wong's youngest daughter is 14 and is a second year student at a junior middle school. Wong's family leads a simple life. Apart from going to parks or to the countryside on weekends, they ask for little else. Mrs. Wong passed away last year, so there are only five persons in the Wong family.

TAPE SCRIPT: HONG KONG

Mr. Chan is just over forty and works as a clerk in a firm. His wife is a primary school teacher. They have been married for more than ten years. The son goes to secondary school next year and the daughter is now in primary three. The school where Mrs. Chan teaches is a half-day school so she can help the children with their homework in the afternoon. The couple is satisfied with the children's school results. Normally the Chans have no special activities: after dinner they watch TV together or take a stroll in the park nearby, and the young Chans play with their friends. The family goes biking along the Tolo Harbour highway during weekends, and they eat out at a western restaurant or at MacDonald's in the evening. The children are really happy about this!

APPENDIX 2

RATING SCALE FOR EACH SPEAKER

(English translation)

Please mark the appropriate boxes with a tick and answer all questions.

What is your general impression of the speaker?_____

_____

_____

To what degree do you think the speaker is:

1.	well-natured and polite	not at all ☐☐☐☐☐☐☐	very much
2.	knowledgeable	☐☐☐☐☐☐☐	
3.	successful	☐☐☐☐☐☐☐	
4.	friendly	☐☐☐☐☐☐☐	
5.	ambitious	☐☐☐☐☐☐☐	
6.	understanding	☐☐☐☐☐☐☐	

To what degree do you think the speaker is:

7.	proud	☐☐☐☐☐☐☐	humble
8.	aggressive	☐☐☐☐☐☐☐	gentle
9.	authoritarian	☐☐☐☐☐☐☐	liberal
10.	idealistic	☐☐☐☐☐☐☐	realistic
11.	show-off	☐☐☐☐☐☐☐	modest
12.	narrow-minded	☐☐☐☐☐☐☐	broad-minded

Please rate the speaker on the following features;

13.	clothing: fashionable	☐☐☐☐☐☐☐	unfashionable
14.	politics:passionate	☐☐☐☐☐☐☐	conservative
15.	school: famous	☐☐☐☐☐☐☐	unknown

APPENDIX 3

INFORMATION SHEET FOR EACH RESPONDENT

(English Translation)

Personal details (name not needed)

Sex: M/F

Age:

Department/Subject:

Grade/Level:

Place of Birth:

Place of Residence (indicate dates):

The dialects you speak:

The dialect you speak at home:

During the experiment, how did you feel?

very uncomfortable ☐☐☐☐☐☐☐ very comfortable

Thank you for your co-operation!

APPENDIX 4

LANGUAGE ATTITUDE AND THE SOCIAL ORDER IN HONG KONG
AFTER 1997

Means of the Guangzhou Experiment

Items	Speaker 1				Speaker 2				Speaker 3				Grouped				Diff	P vs C	
	P $\bar{X}$	s.d.	C $\bar{X}$	s.d.	P $\bar{X}$	s.d.	C $\bar{X}$	s.d.	P $\bar{X}$	s.d.	C $\bar{X}$	s.d.	P $\bar{X}$	s.d.	C $\bar{X}$	s.d.	P $\bar{X}$ C $\bar{X}$	t	p<
1. Well-natured and polite	4.000	1.860	3.526	1.606	3.632	1.643	3.421	1.765	4.579	1.244	5.184	1.625	4.070	1.063	4.044	0.999	0.034	0.13	-
2. Knowledgeable	4.421	1.636	3.158	1.516	4.316	1.919	3.474	1.871	4.079	1.908	4.605	1.669	4.272	1.331	3.746	0.991	0.526	2.35	0.05
3. Successful	4.421	1.718	3.500	1.447	4.474	1.767	3.316	1.544	4.395	1.809	4.395	1.636	4.430	1.085	3.737	0.901	0.693	3.62	0.001
4. Friendly	4.237	1.992	4.158	1.824	3.368	1.634	3.816	1.901	5.132	1.563	5.526	1.572	4.246	1.130	4.500	1.270	0.254	0.96	-
5. Ambitious	3.947	1.723	3.553	1.704	4.711	2.091	3.842	1.873	4.368	1.872	3.895	1.485	4.342	1.146	3.763	1.076	0.579	2.63	0.05
6. Understanding	4.316	2.042	4.421	1.795	3.553	1.796	3.632	2.006	4.868	1.727	5.079	1.761	4.246	1.105	4.377	1.155	0.131	-0.56	-
7. Proud(1) - Humble(7)	4.263	1.899	4.763	1.497	2.842	1.763	3.042	1.881	4.684	1.847	5.868	1.298	3.930	1.057	4.452	0.938	0.522	-2.74	0.01
8. Aggressive(1) - Gentle(7)	4.158	1.824	4.579	1.825	3.132	1.589	3.684	1.591	4.737	1.826	5.211	1.600	4.009	1.008	4.491	0.967	0.482	-2.21	0.05
9. Authoritarian(1) - Liberal(7)	3.947	1.785	4.368	1.550	3.605	1.685	3.842	1.748	4.684	1.472	5.421	1.571	4.079	1.159	4.544	0.937	0.465	-1.93	-
10. Idealistic(1) - Realistic(7)	4.816	1.814	5.605	1.443	3.789	2.069	4.868	1.563	5.579	1.671	5.237	1.607	4.728	1.034	5.237	0.731	0.509	-2.78	0.01
11. Showoff(1) - Modest(7)	4.763	1.895	5.789	1.069	3.553	1.735	3.632	2.072	5.395	1.534	5.605	1.196	4.570	0.955	5.009	0.935	0.439	-2.32	0.05
12. Narrow-(1) - Broad-minded(7)	4.316	1.905	4.842	1.263	3.789	1.803	4.105	1.737	4.895	1.590	4.947	1.293	4.333	1.165	4.632	0.845	0.299	-1.31	-
13.Clothing: (1-7) Fashionable - Unfashionable	4.553	1.941	4.026	1.700	3.316	1.960	4.053	1.931	3.395	1.685	3.737	1.605	3.754	1.138	3.939	1.086	0.185	-0.80	-
14. Politics: (1-7) Passionate - Conservative	4.579	1.825	4.816	1.574	2.974	1.732	4.132	2.120	4.263	1.811	4.237	1.601	3.939	1.054	4.395	0.859	0.456	-1.87	-
15. School: Famous(1) - Unknown(7)	4.053	1.692	4.474	1.736	4.000	1.959	4.579	1.955	3.684	1.787	4.105	1.798	3.912	1.103	4.386	0.982	0.474	-2.01	-

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APPENDIX 5

LANGUAGE ATTITUDE AND THE SOCIAL ORDER IN HONG KONG
AFTER 1997

Means of the Hong Kong Experiment

Items	Speaker 1				Speaker 2				Speaker 3				Grouped				Diff	P vs C	
	P $\bar{X}$	s.d.	C $\bar{X}$	s.d.	P $\bar{X}$	s.d.	C $\bar{X}$	s.d.	P $\bar{X}$	s.d.	C $\bar{X}$	s.d.	P $\bar{X}$	s.d.	C $\bar{X}$	s.d.	P $\bar{X}$ C $\bar{X}$	t	p<
1. Well-natured and polite	4.545	1.580	4.423	1.293	4.358	1.537	4.951	1.562	4.382	1.483	4.032	1.367	4.428	0.859	4.469	0.873	0.041	-0.39	-
2. Knowledgeable	5.098	1.176	4.729	1.375	4.106	1.384	4.769	1.307	4.341	1.425	3.520	1.270	4.515	0.832	4.339	0.859	0.176	1.87	-
3. Successful	5.049	1.137	4.618	1.303	3.607	1.308	4.107	1.425	3.634	1.250	3.146	1.310	4.101	0.740	3.959	0.823	0.142	1.53	-
4. Friendly	4.309	1.336	4.138	1.410	4.139	1.587	4.680	1.458	4.244	1.445	4.350	1.471	4.229	0.936	4.380	0.811	0.151	-1.37	-
5. Ambitious	5.203	1.437	4.512	1.501	3.268	1.449	3.697	1.574	3.236	1.306	2.934	1.309	3.902	0.869	3.713	0.743	0.189	1.85	-
6. Understanding	4.130	1.336	3.951	1.402	3.748	1.480	4.366	1.590	3.732	1.415	3.512	1.309	3.870	0.933	3.943	0.813	0.073	-0.75	-
7. Proud(1) - Humble(7)	3.642	1.415	3.919	1.491	4.439	1.521	4.639	1.494	4.431	1.367	4.688	1.478	4.171	0.899	4.413	0.903	0.242	-2.17	0.05
8. Aggressive(1) - Gentle(7)	3.178	1.499	3.610	1.513	5.041	1.473	4.862	1.543	4.691	1.449	5.061	1.370	4.303	0.913	4.498	0.814	0.193	-1.82	-
9. Authoritarian(1) - Liberal(7)	3.797	1.504	3.675	1.358	4.114	1.154	4.642	1.325	3.951	1.200	4.114	1.216	3.954	0.802	4.144	0.762	0.190	-2.07	0.05
10. Idealistic(1) - Realistic(7)	3.919	1.587	4.520	1.591	4.106	1.593	3.984	1.585	4.439	1.527	5.262	1.329	4.154	0.875	4.598	0.822	0.444	-3.77	0.0006
11. Showoff(1) - Modest(7)	3.984	1.515	4.154	1.558	4.959	1.484	4.732	1.403	4.854	1.407	5.293	1.593	4.599	0.918	4.726	0.949	0.127	-1.10	-
12. Narrow-(1) - Broad-minded(7)	4.398	1.291	4.061	1.280	3.992	1.388	4.333	1.430	3.967	1.288	4.024	1.277	4.119	0.773	4.125	0.795	0.006	-0.06	-
13.Clothing: (1-7) Fashionable - Unfashionable	3.589	1.379	3.834	1.344	4.293	1.424	3.463	1.481	4.729	1.260	5.415	1.254	4.194	0.850	4.171	0.795	0.023	0.33	-
14. Politics: (1-7) Passionate - Conservative	3.276	1.301	3.751	1.560	4.610	1.429	4.374	1.333	4.623	1.468	5.293	1.246	4.169	0.755	4.461	0.770	0.292	-2.91	0.005
15. School: Famous(1) - Unknown(7)	2.984	1.180	3.593	1.402	4.285	1.370	3.797	1.373	4.041	1.417	5.000	1.355	3.768	0.808	4.130	0.808	0.362	-3.35	0.005

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APPENDIX 6

LANGUAGE ATTITUDE AND THE SOCIAL ORDER IN HONG KONG
AFTER 1997

Grouped Means of Hong Kong and Guangzhou Compared

Items	Grouped Hong Kong				Diff.	P vs C		Grouped Guangzhou				Diff.	P vs C	
	P $\bar{X}$	s.d.	C $\bar{X}$	s.d.	P$\bar{X}$ C$\bar{X}$	t	p<	P $\bar{X}$	s.d.	C $\bar{X}$	s.d.	P$\bar{X}$ C$\bar{X}$	t	p<
1. Well-natured and polite	4.429	0.859	4.469	0.873	0.041	-0.39	-	4.070	1.063	4.044	0.999	0.034	0.13	
2. Knowledgeable	4.515	0.832	4.339	0.859	0.176	1.87	-	4.272	1.331	3.746	0.991	0.526	2.35	0.05
3. Successful	4.101	0.740	3.959	0.823	0.142	1.53	-	4.430	1.085	3.737	0.901	0.693	3.62	0.001
4. Friendly	4.229	0.936	4.380	0.811	0.151	-1.37	-	4.246	1.130	4.500	1.270	0.254	-0.96	-
5. Ambitious	3.902	0.869	3.713	0.743	0.189	1.85	-	4.342	1.146	3.763	1.076	0.579	2.63	0.05
6. Understanding	3.870	0.933	3.943	0.813	0.073	-0.75	-	4.246	1.196	4.377	1.155	0.131	-0.55	-
7. Proud(1) - Humble(7)	4.171	0.899	4.413	0.903	0.242	-2.17	0.05	3.930	1.037	4.485	0.958	0.555	-2.74	0.01
8. Aggressive(1) - Gentle(7)	4.303	0.913	4.496	0.814	0.193	-1.82	-	4.009	1.092	4.491	0.967	0.482	-2.21	0.05
9. Authoritarian(1) - Liberal(7)	3.954	0.802	4.144	0.762	0.190	-2.07	0.05	4.079	1.158	4.544	0.907	0.465	-1.93	-
10. Idealistic(1) - Realistic(7)	4.154	0.875	4.598	0.822	0.444	-3.77	0005	4.728	1.034	5.237	0.731	0.509	-2.76	0.01
11. Showoff(1) - Modest(7)	4.599	0.918	4.726	0.949	0.127	-1.10	-	4.570	0.955	5.009	0.935	0.439	-2.32	0.05
12. Narrow-(1) - Broad-minded(7)	4.119	0.773	4.125	0.795	0.006	-0.06	-	4.333	1.165	4.632	0.845	0.299	-1.31	-
13.Clothing: (1-7) Fashionable - Unfashionable	4.194	0.850	4.171	0.795	0.023	0.33	-	3.754	1.138	3.939	1.085	0.185	-0.80	-
14. Politics: (1-7) Passionate - Conservative	4.159	0.755	4.451	0.770	0.292	-2.91	0.005	3.939	1.054	4.395	0.859	0.456	-1.87	-
15. School: Famous(1) - Unknown(7)	3.768	0.808	4.130	0.808	0.362	-3.35	0.005	3.912	1.103	4.386	0.982	0.474	-2.01	-

A PROPOSED DESCRIPTIVE FRAMEWORK FOR THE PRAGMATIC MEANINGS OF THE PARTICLE LA IN COLLOQUIAL SINGAPOREAN ENGLISH[1]

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INTRODUCTION: The "la" Phenomenon In Colloquial Singaporean English (CSE)

It is now a widely acknowledged fact that the particle *la* in CSE is a uniquely Singaporean feature, which seems to be the result of languages in contact, with its origin either in Chinese, as suggested by Richards and Tay (1977) and Kwan-Terry (1978), or Malay.

This particle usually occurs at the final position of an utterance which is either a phrase, a clause or a declarative or imperative sentence. For example:

No la	Like that la
Yes la	Don't be shy la
Sorry la	Come and eat la
Never-mind la	You eat la
Cannot la	I make meat ball la
Can la	I also want to eat la
Ball la	Because I don't like la
No monster la	I didn't go to school so no girl-friend la

REVIEW OF LITERATURE

Besides a brief descriptive account in both Tongue (1974) and Platt and Werber (1980), there have been, to date, only three published works on *la:* Richards and Tay (1977), Dwan-Terry (1978), and Bell and Ser (1983).[2] However, these three works vary in their methodology and their source of data: while Richards and Tay mentioned "fragment of a telephone conversation recorded near a public phone booth in a cinema" (p42), Kwan-Terry made it clear that her study was based on "observations" of her own (p22); and Bell and Ser based their syntactic analysis on three sources: (a) a "210-item questionnaire on the syntactic positioning of (LA)", designed, piloted and administered by Ser, "a native speaker of CSE", (b) on "informal interviews in which he [Ser] probed their [informants'] intuition concerning the formal characteristics and the social function of (LA)" (p7) and (c) on Ser's own introspection and intuition. In short, none of these three works seems to have been based on large corpus of collected naturalistic data.

Nevertheless, their contribution to the understanding of *la* cannot be overlooked.

Richards and Tay (1977:42) suggest that *la* functions as a "code-marker which identifies rapport, solidarity, familiarity and informality between the participants in the speech event" where the low variety of Singapore English is used, i.e. in informal situations. They have thus described the social functions of *la*.

This is supported by Kwan-Terry (1978:22-4). She sees the use of *la* as projecting "friendliness" in contrast to the non-use of *la* which makes the sentence "blunt and hard", as the following pairs of sentences show:

> Make it cheaper. Don't make so much profit this time.
> Make it cheaper *la*. Don't make so much profit this time *la*.
>
> I'm willing to come down in price a bit, but not too much.
> I'm willing to come down in price a bit *la*, but not too much *la*.

She also advances that *la* additionally carries certain "emotive" function in a sentence, "reflecting certain emotive attitudes on the part of the speaker", such as obviousness, emphasis, friendliness, consultativeness, uncertainty, impatience and persuasion, etc., depending on the "intonation and the lexical elements in the sentence" that "intertwine with each other and play an important role in determining the meaning borne by *la*". She distinguishes two forms of *la* to account for all these emotive attitudes:

> the protracted and stressed form *la*: e.g., come la, don't be shy lā.
>
> the contacted and unstressed form *là* : e.g., come la, don't be shy là̂.

She claims that both forms of *la* carry a falling intonation when spoken, but the first *la* is longer in duration than the second. Thus distinction is made on duration and stress. Functionally, the first suggests "persuasion and kindly encouragement", and the second, "authority, and may be even a hint of impatience". With other examples, she also claims that the stressed *la* may also be used to indicate a certain explanatory attitude on the part of the speaker, while the unstressed *la* also suggests impatience or annoyance.

The contributive values of Kwan-Terry's paper are (a) her recognition that *la* has emotive meanings in addition to the social meanings described by Richards and Tay; (b) her suggestion that these emotive meanings can be accounted for by

two forms of *la* which contrast in terms of duration and stress; and (c) her observation that "the intonation and lexical elements in a sentence intertwine with each other and play a role in determining the meaning borne by *la*". Therefore, she has preliminarily attempted to provide a simple description of the pragmatic, and what she calls the emotive, meanings of *la* in CSE.

Bell and Ser (1983), however, suspected that for the two forms of *la* to have such contrastive emotive meanings, they could have been distinguished by tone instead of duration, possibly a high tone with 'rising' quality, and a low tone with 'falling' quality. However, when they subjected *la* (experimentally produced by Ser in the laboratory)[3] to spectroscopic analysis, they found that the two distinct realizations of *la* are contrasted in terms of "the *quantity* of the sounds rather than their *quality*, i.e. duration rather than pitch" (1983:8). The *la* variation appears to have the following two distinct variants:

la: a low falling tone, with a frequency of 85± 1 Hz and a duration of around 300 milli-seconds.

lah: a low falling tone, with essentially the same frequency but more than double the duration, i.e. some 700 milli-seconds.

Thus, they claim that they have confirmed Kwan-Terry's distinction of the two forms of *la* in terms of duration, and that they carry falling intonation.

They have also argued (1983:12-15) that *la* is not only a code-marker, as suggested by Richards and Tay, but also (a) "a signal of contrastive focus" or "an emphatic marker", which allows the speaker "to direct the attention of the hearer to particular parts of an utterance and to indicate degrees of commitment to the proposition conveyed by the utterance", and (b) "an indicator of pragmatic value" in the sense that "the addition of *la* or *lah* can change the force underlying the act so that it 'counts as' a different speech act", as the following shows:

Instruction	+ la	-->	request (e.g. 'come here')
	+ lah	-->	order
Statement	+ la	-->	+ lighthearted (e.g. 'they're have')
	+ lah	-->	+ ill-tempered
Apology	+ la	-->	sincere apology (e.g. 'I'm sorry')
	+ lah	-->	insincere apology
Promise	+ la	-->	+ genuine (e.g. 'see you tonight')
	+ lah	-->	threat/warning
Dismissal	+ la	-->	joke (e.g. "You're fired')
	+ lah	-->	+ genuine

Bell and Ser, therefore, have apparently added yet another dimension of the meanings of *la* to the social and emotive dimensions recognized by Richards and Tay and by Kwan-Terry: i.e. the pragmatic dimension. Actually, both Kwan-Terry and Bell and Ser have described the different aspects of the pragmatic Meanings of *la:* speaker's emotive attitude and communicative functions, respectively.

Findings of these researchers imply that the particle *la* is pragmatically meaningful and communicatively functional. Not only does it function as a code marker at the societal level, it also functions pragmatically in close interactional or conversational contexts, i.e. at the interpersonal level. The pragmatic meanings it can express seem to be rich, complex and subtle on the one hand, and communicatively effective and versatile on the other. However, none of the works reviewed have provided a detailed descriptive framework that will fully account for the pragmatic meanings of *la.* There are questions that are left unanswered. (1) What is it in the *la* utterances that is actually responsible for the subtle emotive meanings of *la* ? (2) Is it stress, or duration, or intonation or something else? (3) In what way exactly are the two variant forms of *la* intertwined with intonational variations and the co-occurring lexical elements in the utterance to produce a wide range of emotive meanings for effective communication? (4) Will an examination of a large corpus of collected naturalistic data substantiate Kwan-Terry's distinction of the two variant forms of *la* in terms of duration and stress, and Bell and Ser's claim that these two variant forms can change the force underlying the speech act performed by a *la* utterance, so that it counts as a different speech act? (5) How exactly are the various speech acts listed by Bell and Ser performed or realized by the *la* utterances? (6) What actually contributes to the complex pragmatic meanings of *la* ?

THE PRESENT STUDY

It was with these questions in mind that we set about investigating the particle *la* in CSE, in the hope of finding more about the relationship between the intonational variations of *la* and its pragmatic meanings, and of working out a descriptive framework to account for such a relationship. And we did so by examining the *la* utterances occurring naturally in interaction contexts between speakers of CSE. This paper is the result of the very first stage of our research, in which we examined three recorded child-adult interactions and one child-child interaction. All three interactions were play sessions that lasted for about half an

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hour each. The three children, aged between 3;2 and 4;0, are native speakers of CSE.

Out of a total of about 1000 utterances produced by the 3 children, there are 119 *la* utterances, which is about 12%.

The aim of this paper is therefore twofold. Firstly, to see if our data will substantiate Kwan-Terry's claim that there are two variant forms of *la* which contrast each other in terms of duration and stress and Bell and Ser's claim that these two forms of *la* can change the force underlying the speech act produced by a *la* utterance so that it counts as a separate speech act. Secondly, to find out the inter-relationships between the variant forms of *la* and their complex pragmatic meanings. That is, to find out what exactly contributes to the pragmatic meanings of *la*: tone intonation, duration, stress or something else?

We therefore examined the *la* utterances in the following areas:

(a) the intonational variations of *la*;

(b) the communicative functions (speech acts) performed/ expressed by the *la* utterances;

(c) the speaker's emotive attitudes expressed in the *la* utterances, and

(d) the relation between the intonational variations of *la* and the pragmatic meanings expressed by the *la* utterances.

First we worked out the intonational variations of *la* by listening to the recordings for several times.[4] However, we found it difficult to apply the distinction made by Kwan-Terry in terms of stress and duration. While we managed to pick out utterances that appear to be her "unstressed" *lâ*, we noticed that there appear to be two forms of *la* that can perhaps be considered to be her "stressed" *lā* and that all these three forms contrast not so much in terms of duration, but primarily in terms of pitch height, i.e. high, mid and low, as is evident in the data given in Samples I, II and III in the Appendix.

Samples I, II and III in the Appendix provide examples for the following variations we have found in *la*:

(a) *La* is primarily uttered in three pitch heights: high, mid and low;

(b) Each of these three pitch heights can undergo further intonational variations in terms of fall, rise, rise-fall and fall-rise:

(c) These intonational variations can further be super-imposed on by duration, e.g. the *la* 's in utterances I-11, II-7, II-10, II-11, II-12, and II-18 are *lengthened* while those in utterances I-3, I-15, I-22, I-24, I-25, III-8 and III-18 are *shortened*; and

(d) *La* can also be stressed regardless of its intonational variations and duration, e.g. the *la's* in utterances III-15 and III-18.

Therefore, pitch height seems to be primary, intonational variations in terms of fall, rise, rise-fall and fall-rise, secondary, and duration and stress, tertiary.

We then worked out the communicative functions (speech acts) performed/expressed by the *la* utterances as they are used in the interaction contexts. This we did by listening to the recorded interactions, paying attention to not only the inter-relation between a *la* utterance and the utterances that immediately precede and follow it, but also the meaning relevant to the whole interaction context.

Table 1 shows the list of communicative functions that are performed by the *la* utterances in the three interactional contexts. The length of the list indicates that *la* utterances are capable of expressing a large number of communication functions. However, there are communicative functions that are more frequently expressed by *la* utterances than others, such as assertions, requests, suggestions, pleadings, refusals and disagreement, etc.

An examination of the communicative functions of *la* and its intonational variations shows that there seems to be a correlation between them; requests are expressed predominantly by a high fall, suggestions by a high-level, assertions of intention by a high-fall, mid-fall and low-fall, assertions of knowledge by a high-fall, high rise-fall and low-fall.

Although these correlations between the intonational variations of *la* and the pragmatic functions it can perform may be contextually bound (see footnote 4), or relevant to the children's idiosyncratic uses, it does show that *la* has been assigned various pragmatic meanings by the children.

Having worked out the correlation between the intonational variation and the pragmatic meanings and functions of *la*, we went back to the transcripts and listened to the recordings again to see what emotive attitudes of the children that the *la*-utterances display.

Table 1: Frequencies of Intonational Variations of *la* and their Communicative Functions

(3 children only)	˥	˦	˧	˨	˩	˥˧	˦˨	˧˩	˨˥	˩˥	˩˦	˥˩	˨˩	˩˧	
Assertion (knowledge)	4			7		1			1	1	1	4			19
Assertion (intention)	6	1	1	1		7	1			1	1	2			21
Request	16	1		1		1		1				1			21
Suggestion	4	1			2	1	1							1	10
Persuasion			1		1	2	1		1	1					7
Pleading						1				2		1	1	2	7
Command							1					1			2
Rejection						1				2		1			4
Objection			1												1
Refusal						2				2	1		1		6
Denial				1											1
Negation											1				1
Disapproval			1				1								2
Disagreement						1	1			2		1			5
Agreement							1				1				2
Accepting		1				3									4
Confirmation						1									1
Challenge							1								1
Offer			1												1
Complaint									1						1
Reprimand		1													1
Self reprimand										1					1
	30	5	5	10	3	21	5	1	3	12	5	11	2	3	119

As we did so, we noticed that these attitudes seem to be connected with the duration and the stress super-imposed on the intonational variations of *la*. For example, authority seems to be expressed with a low-falling *la* of short duration in the following communicative functions:

J: What are you making now?
R: Ball *la* (˩), you see. (Assertion)

J: What are you feeding mummy?
R: Ball *la* (↓). (Assertion)
J: Huh?
R: Ball can eat one *la* (↓). (Assertion)

J: What about me? You never feed me?
R: Wait *la* (↓). (Command)

J: O.K. make hot-dog now ah? O.K.?
R: Wait *la* (↓). (Rejection)

And irritation can be expressed by a high rise-fall or a high-rise or a high-fall on *la* of long duration, as the following examples show:

J: Now what do you do after blowing the candles?
R: You blow so hard! (Complaint)
Blow hard-hard.
You blow hard-hard *la* (↑). (Request)

(J sticks the two hamburger halves (dough) together.)
R: Cannot *la* (↑), why you put ... with that? (Objection)
You make hamburger some more *la* (↑). (Request)

Authority can also be expressed with stress superimposed on a high rise-fall *la* of short duration, as the following utterances taken from Sample III in the Appendix show:

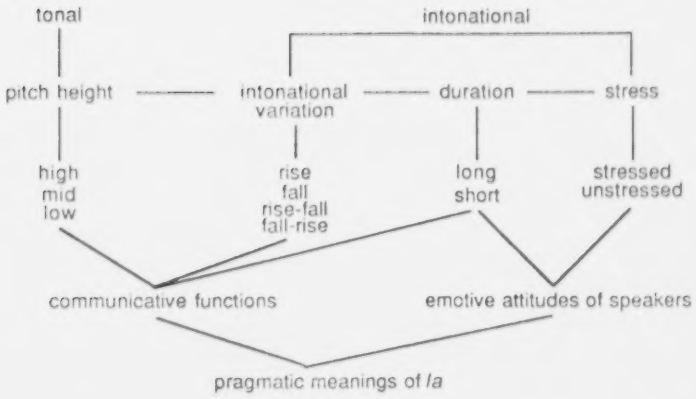
C: Is your girl friend ...
K: No *lá* (↑). (Denial)
C: Do you have a girl friend?
K: No.
I didn't go to school so no girl-friend *lá* (↑). (Assertion)

In our analysis, we have seen that *la* is capable of the various intonational variations for the expressions/performances of various communicative functions with various emotive attitudes. The three pitch-heights and their intonational variations and duration to some extent seem to contribute to the communicative functions of the particle *la*; at the same time duration and stress contribute to the emotive meanings of *la*. These two components seem to be interrelated and together make up the rich and complex pragmatic meanings of *la*.

We found that pitch height is more primary than the other features. Intonational variations like rise, fall, rise-fall and level-fall are secondary to pitch height, while duration and stress further super-impose on them.

We therefore propose a tonal-intonation descriptive framework to account for the full range of pragmatic and emotive meanings of *la*, as shown in Figure 1 below.

Figure 1: A tone-intonational framework for the pragmatic meanings of the particle *la* in CSE



SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

Our research on the pragmatic particle[5] *la* in CSE shows that there are actually three variants of *la* which contrast primarily in terms of the three pitch heights of high, mid and low, which gives *la* a tonal status. These three pitch heights undergo further intonational variations of rise, fall, fall-rise and rise-fall, which can further be super-imposed on by duration and stress. This gives *la* an intonational status.

Our research also shows that the *la* utterances can perform various communicative functions that can be marked with various subtle emotive attitudes expressed by the speakers.

An examination of the correlation between the tonal-intonational variations of *la* and the communicative functions and emotive attitudes expressed by the *la* utterances shows that the communicative functions seem to be expressed together by the pitch height and intonational variation and duration of *la*, and emotive

attitudes, by duration and stress. We therefore propose a tonal-intonational descriptive framework to account for the full range of pragmatic meanings that the pragmatic particle *la* in CSE can so versatily express.

NOTES

1. First of all, we would like to thank Anthea Fraser Gupta for her constructive challenges which have resulted in our further investigation of the pragmatic particle *la*. We would also like to express our gratitude to Professor M A K Halliday for an insightful and beneficial discussion on tone and intonation during his visit to Singapore in 1986, and to John Pellowe for similar discussion. We are also very grateful to Carol Seah and Jessy Ong for their kind permission to use their data for this paper, and to Lee Yoke Leng who typed the various drafts of this paper.
2. The existence of the paper by Professors J Platt and H Werber on the communicative functions of *la* was only brought to our attention when this paper was presented at the Congress in Sydney. Their paper, which we have not yet had an opportunity to read, is included in the Festschrift which had been presented to Professor M A K Halliday two days earlier.
3. This was personally confirmed by Larry Ser.
4. We had tried doing this using the speech spectrograph but found it too time consuming, we feel that a mechanical study does not necessarily truly depict what the human ear actually picks up in an interactional context.
5. We prefer the term "pragmatic particle" to "sentence final particle" used by most researchers because of the pragmatic meanings that *la* expresses.

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Appendix

Sample I: Rachel (3.2)

Activity: Rachel is playing plasticine with J.
Her mother is looking after her baby sister, Cheryl.
They are playing close by.

Key: J - Johna (Adult)
M- Rachel's mother

	Child		Participants	Context
1	Oh! A small ball.			Rachel is moulding the plasticine into a small ball.
		2	J: What are you making now?	
3	Ball-la ( )			
4	you see	5	J: Huh?	
		6	M: ° (Why you make ball) for you baby girl, for yourself.	
7	[°] You eat-la ( )			
		8	M: [a:]	
9	Eat like that-la ( )			Rachel shows her mother how to eat the ball. She puts the ball close to her mouth and pretends to eat it.
		10	M: ° No, I can't °	
11	No, eat like that-la ( ), mummy (v)	12	M: Oh pretend is it?	
13	Ya	14	M: Pretend to eat [this one] You feed me.	
15	No need-la ( )	16	M: Please	
17	O.K. I use the spoon and feed you-la ( ). Please bring the spoon, small spoon inside			
		19	J: ° Ne, O.K. °	J passes Rachel a small spoon. Rachel is talking to herself.
20	(***)	21	J: What are you feeding mummy?	
22	Ball la ( )			
		23	J: Huh?	
24	Ball can eat one *la* ( )			
25	Na, you come here *la* ( )			Addressing her mother.
26	Wait I can feed you, mummy (v)			
		27	M: [m] my mouth, my tongue is very long.	
28	Mummy (v), come *la* ( )			
		29	M: Got to look after Cheryl	
30	No,you sit there with Cheryl ***			
		31	M: Yes, mummy (v)	
32	(Laughter)			
		33	M: You're mummy [A]	
34	No			
35	You sit there wait I can feed you			
		36	M: [m] (eating sound)	
37	You come so near already *la* ( )			

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Sample II: Serene (4;0)

Activity: Serene is trying to draw J. Her younger brother, Ivan (2;0), has been disturbing her and she has ben trying to get rid of him.

1. Wey, I say, you don't do *la* ( ).
2. You don't write *la* ( ).
3. Hey-ya, I say, you don't draw like that huh.
4. You don't draw like that.
5. I say, please, I say please *la* ( ) huh.
5. I say please!
7. I say please, I take this one, you, you don't take this, this one, if not I do *la* ( ).
8. Aiyah, I say you don't do.
9. I say you don't do, you don't, after that put back *la* ( ).
10. Put back *la* ( ), don't do that *la* ( )
11. Aiyah
12. Pli... *la* ( ) Aiyah please ... please *la* ( )

Sample III: Kenny (3:6)

Key: K - Kenny
C - Carol (Adult)

Child		Participants
	1	C: Who is Lai Lai Heng?
2 K: Lai YEE		
	3	C: Laiyee
	4	C: Laiyee is,erh...
5 K: A GIRL		
	6	C: Is a girl
	7	C: You your / k mas/(=aunt's) place is it?
8 K: No la ( )		
	9	C: Then who?
	10	C: Who is she?
	11	C: Your girl friend:
12 K: No no	13	C: I know!
	14	C: Is your girl friend
15 K: No la ( )		
	16	C: Do you have a girl friend?
17 K: No		
18 K: I didn't go to school so no girl friend la ( )		

WORKING FOR AN ENGLISH SYLLABUS FOR SENIOR ENGLISH MAJORS IN CHINA'S TERTIARY INSTITUTIONS

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In November 1983, under the auspices of the Ministry of Education (now the State Education Commission) of China, a meeting was held in Beijing for the purpose of exchanging views and experiences in teaching senior English majors. All the participants felt the need to devise a unified syllabus for senior English majors as a follow up to what was already in process for the juniors (the final draft was approved by the SEC Foreign Language Textbook Compilation and Supervision Committee, English Group, in December 1986). The planned syllabus should not only guarantee a variety of courses in different institutions to meet their respective needs, but also provide an efficient and effective way for grading students' proficiency levels by the time they graduate. After a year's preparation, a working team of 12 members representing comprehensive universities, normal universities, foreign language institutes and other ministerial institutions was appointed by the SEC and entrusted with the task of drafting the proposed syllabus. With the concerted efforts of the team, two criterion-based tests were given to the graduating students consecutively in early June of 1984 and 1985, the results of which have already provided valuable data for determining the target level of proficiency expected for a graduating English major. By now, the team has already worked out a draft for the intended syllabus after several rounds of revision, which awaits further feedback from more institutions and the final approval of the commission.

The present paper is not meant to report in detail the team's routine activities, but to raise some points which baffled us at times and express our tentative views in tackling these matters.

English as a Speciality or as a Tool

It is a vogue in China today to consider English no longer a speciality but a tool. This is further manifested by the fact that some foreign language institutes have renamed themselves as universities of international affairs or international studies. Under this influence, quite a few school graduates show no interest in taking English as majors, and some English majors ask for a transfer to other

departments. Thus, the status of English as a speciality should be reaffirmed first; otherwise, there is no point in working for a syllabus for English majors, or in setting up English sections or departments in tertiary institutions.

We do admit that language is meant to do things, to perform various functions, and to facilitate communication, and we are ready to accept the maxim that under specified conditions, we should teach the language instead of teaching about the language. However, one should also recognize the fact that there should always be some learners who want to know more about the language, its magic power in speech, in literature, in culture, in every aspect of human activities. These learners are the English majors. To them English is a speciality. The situation is analogous to what we encounter in computer science or other disciplines. We language teachers or linguists treat computer science as a tool to make it assist in language teaching or in linguistic research, but the computer engineers treat it as their major. Since many of the English majors in China today are trained as language teachers, interpreters and translators, and some of them will go on with their postgraduate work to become lecturers and researchers, they should by no means content themselves with merely knowing the language but not knowing about the language. In other words, what they need is English for a general purpose - not English for a special purpose, English for science and technology, "bazaar English" (Chattopadhyay 1983), or "tourist English" as used by an emeritus Chinese professor. Thus, one should make a distinction between the English majors and non-English majors in regard to their ultimate goals.

What to Teach

At the 1983 meeting, two opposing views could be easily observed. Some universities and institutes insisted on sticking to the old tradition, that is to say, training in the four skills is still to be stressed and we should not bother about the teaching of literature and linguistics. For one thing, they argued, the proficiency level of the English majors in China is relatively low, especially in some regional institutions, so the senior majors should be offered courses similar to those for the juniors such as reading (both intensive and extensive), writing, listening and speaking. For another thing, courses related to literature and linguistics are too far-fetched or advanced and should be excluded from the syllabus (A typical remark was made by a foreign speaker at the 1985 Guangzhou International Symposium on the Teaching of English in the Chinese Context, who announced, "No literature, no linguistics.").

Not all the participants in the 1983 meeting agreed with this simplistic view. They argued that courses given to the senior majors could be somewhat different from those for the juniors. Firstly, after two years' intensive and basic training, the learners should have had a reasonable command of the four skills. This lays the foundation for the learners to start from an advanced level through other means. If we repeat the same kinds of courses, the students will get bored. In fact, in many universities, students have already voiced their complaints at having stereotyped courses and training procedures throughout the four years. Secondly, teaching English is not merely a matter of providing skill-oriented courses. One can learn English by doing other courses. In literature, one can learn both the *best* of language and *varieties* of language. Linguistics can help people learn English more conscientiously and logically. Thirdly, the ultimate task of university education is not only to teach skills of a particular discipline, but also to develop students' logical thinking as well as the ability to solve practical problems and formulate critical and original views, whereas skill-oriented courses cannot help the senior learners to scale those heights.

Consequently, the syllabus team tended to side with the latter view. So in our proposed syllabus, we have decided to cover three classes and four types of courses, as shown in Table 1.

All the below-mentioned courses are conducted in English. As each institution has its own special interest, the unified syllabus lists only four obligatory courses, so that there is more latitude for each institution to adapt the syllabus to its particular need. What is more, each institution is allowed to teach courses which are not covered in the above schedule. For instance, *Selected Reading of English Poetry, Twentieth Century American Short Stories, English and American Drama, Sociolinguistics* and *Literary Stylistics* are offered at Peking University, whereas *Business English, American Society, Educational Psychology,* etc. are taught at other institutions.

Then what is the point of devising a unified syllabus, as its range of application is quite limited? This can be accounted for by the fact that the syllabus concerned is proficiency-controlled rather than course-controlled. This leads up to the next problem.

Table 1: Courses Recommended by the Proposed Syllabus for Senior English Majors

Course Type	Obligatory	Restricted Optional	Optional
Skill oriented	Reading Writing Translation B.A.Thesis	Oral Interpretation Advanced Listening	Typing Shorthand Synchronous Interpretation
Literature oriented		Survey of English Literature Survey of American Literature	Candian Literature Australian Literature New Zealand Literature Irish Literature etc.
Linguistics oriented		General Linguistics	Phonology English Teaching Methodology Lexicology Grammar Stylistics Changes in Present day English
Culture oriented		Selected Readings of Newspapers & Magazines	History of the English speakingCountries History of G.B. History of U.S.A. European Culture

How to Grade the Proficiency Level

When the syllabus team was nominated, we were told to work out criteria for grading the proficiency levels of all the Senior English majors in all the tertiary institutions at different developmental stages. Thus we were put in a dilemma. On the one hand, we did not intend, as mentioned before, to commit ourselves to a skill-oriented program; on the other hand, when it comes to the measurement of proficiency, we still have to measure the students' level of language skills. We cannot ask an English major in a foreign-trade institute to be well versed in Shakespeare or Milton, nor do we expect an English major in a comprehensive university to draft a contract on import-export business.

Do we need to reinstate all the skill-oriented courses all over again? Definitely not. Our argument is, one could improve reading comprehension by reading textbooks, reference materials and literary works required by the courses the learner chooses; one could improve listening comprehension by listening to lectures in English either by the instructors or by guest speakers, as well as by listening to BBC, VOA, ABC and watching English films alone; one could improve spoken English by participating in classroom discussion and extra-curricular activities; and one could improve writing ability by doing exercises and writing papers. It is on the basis of this understanding that language skills can still be recognised as the referential criteria for grading the proficiency levels of senior students.

The next problem was to deal with the quantification of the proficiency level. The syllabus team received some inspiration from various models reported (Ingram, Johnston, NAATI, Royal Society of Arts Examination Board, and others). But there are still problems unsolved. Take reading comprehension, for example. The criteria for proficiency levels six and eight in our draft are as follows:

Table 2: Proposed Proficiency Criteria for Reading Comprehension

Items	Unit	Level 6*	Level 8*
i. New word token frequency	%	4	5
ii. Reading speed	word/min	120	140
iii. Comprehension accuracy	%	70-80	75-85
iv. Passive vocabulary	word	6,000-8,000	9,000-12,000
v. Active vocabulary	word	3,000	4,000

* Level 6: normally for students who have received three years of training in English.
* Level 8: normally for students who have received four years of training in English.

The figures sound objective and verifiable, but invite discussion. It is obvious that item (i) is closely related to item (iv) - what is not included in item (iv) should be regarded as new words and vice versa. Then how do we manage to decide the numbers for types of passive vocabulary and new word tokens? The figures came from our criterion-reference tests taking Thorndike's scale of vocabulary as a

reference (Thorndike 1944). However, when compared with the syllabus for junior English majors, we found that figures for passive vocabulary for Level 2 and Level 4 are 3,500-4,500 and 6,000-7,000 words, respectively. It will immediately be noticed that there is not much difference between Level 4 and Level 6 at this point. This is because the figures for Level 4 came from a computerized study of word frequency with all the textbooks for the juniors as the input. To solve the problem, we once thought of starting our own word frequency count project, but this has never been put into practice. Apart from financial considerations, what discouraged us most was the purpose of carrying out such a project. It is common sense that after the first six thousand words, one can predict more diversity at the scale of 6,000-12,000 words. This is all the more true for English majors in different institutions, as each institution has its own specific needs analysis. Even if we do such a study and work out a list of the additional 6,000 words, would we have to teach these words deliberately? If our syllabus were geared to this requirement, we would be working on a traditional lexical syllabus rather than a communicative syllabus. So far as vocabulary count is concerned, we still have to resort to sources available, such as Thorndike and Lorge (1944), West (1977), and Hobland and Stig (1986).

Table 3: Scheme for Criterion-Reference Test I, 1984

Paper	Test	Items	Scores				Time (min.)
			Reading	Writing	Vocabulary	Cloze	
I	1.	Scanning	9				20
	2.	Skimming	11				
II	3.	Vocabulary			20		
	4.	Cloze				20	
	5.	Reading	40				120
	6.	Summary Writing	10	10			
III	7.	Message Writing		10			
	8.	News Writing		20			60
	9.	Letter Writing		20			
TOTAL			70	60	20	20	200
				170			

Source: Li, 1985.

How and When to Test the Graduating Students

The ultimate aim of the syllabus is to provide an objective criterion to measure the proficiency level of the graduating students on the eve of their departure. This is the reason why the first criterion-reference test (Test I) in 1984 was constructed in the form of an objective test, as in Table 3.

The table shows that Test I, although objective in nature, does not exclude writing at all, but rather, stresses the importance of writing, which is a manifestation of one of the features of the syllabus for senior majors. What is more important is that the test should be mainly of a communicative nature. A communicative syllabus expects a communicative test.

However the result of the test was challenged by some team members, who argued that if the test was designed for communication, then to a Chinese student majoring in English, the skill of performing two-way translation should have been included. It followed that two test items (Chinese to English translation, English to Chinese translation) were added to the 1985 test (Test II). Obviously, this changed somewhat the nature of test construction, as we now moved away from the objective approach in the direction of the subjective approach. As a result, the team had to spend a longer time marking the papers and had all sorts of disagreements in scoring. Imagine more than ten thousand English majors graduating every year; most teachers will be reluctant to spend their long holidays on this time-consuming job, so there is still a long way to go to offer a test of this sort on a nationwide scale. Perhaps the inclusion of writing in the TOEFL test items this year will offer us some enlightenment in the near future.

We also find it difficult to fix an ideal date for a proficiency test if the syllabus is put into effect. Theoretically, the test should be administered by the time the students are graduating. The trouble is that the testees will have already left the university when the results are known. If the test is administered one or two months earlier, the teachers concerned will be busy with their teaching and thesis supervision and will have no time to mark the papers. If the test is administered half a year earlier, then the result has nothing to do with a 4-year English syllabus. It seems that this job should be taken over by a specially appointed professional group.

Evaluation and Scoring

The proposed syllabus has also devoted a special chapter to setting up the criteria for evaluation and scoring of individual items. On the whole, we recommend both the five-grade system and the percentage system as follows:

Table 4: Conversion Between Two Scoring Systems

System	Grade/Score				
Five-grade system	Excellent	Good	Moderate	Pass	Fail
Percentage system	90-100	80-89	70-79	60-69	0-59

Take reading comprehension, for example. We have different criteria for different types of reading, such as content reading, critical reading and appreciative reading. Below is an illustration of the criteria for content reading.

Table 5: Criteria for Evaluation of Content Reading

Grade	Criteria
Excellent	Correctly grasp the theme of the text, get hold of the topical content of each paragraph and memorize over 80% of the details.
Good	Correctly grasp the theme of the text, get hold of the topical content of each paragraph and memorize 70-80% of the details.
Moderate	Grasp the theme of the text, get hold of the topical idea of most of the paragraph, and memorize 60-70% of the details.
Pass	Basically grasp the theme of the text, get hold of about half of the topical content of each paragraph and memorize 50-60% of the details.
Fail	Fail to basically grasp the theme of the text, get hold of less than half of the topical content of each paragraph and memorize less than 50% of the details.

The evaluation of speaking is based on the following factors: content (50%), organization (50%), pronunciation and intonation (10%), language (20%), appropriateness (50%), fluency (10%).

With regard to narrative, descriptive, expository and argumentative writing, the scores are split in the same manner among content (50%), organization (10%), grammar (20%), wording (15%), apropriateness (5%). In contrast, there are only three grades of the B.A. thesis - namely, excellent, pass and fail.

The problem confronting us in this respect is a trivial one. One of the team members holds the view that it is not the job of the syllabus team to be involved with evaluation and scoring. The SEC's Testing Bureau will be authorized to test and score the students. However, the majority of the team members think differently: whether the said bureau accepts our recommendation or not, the English teachers in service will find it helpful in scoring test results and improving their work.

The proposed syllabus is now being distributed to institutions on a wider scale. With more feedback pouring in, we believe that we will understand better the way to construct a syllabus.

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INTERPRETATION OF ANAPHORA IN ENGLISH AND JAPANESE IN SENTENCES WITH PREPOSITIONAL PHRASES

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INTRODUCTION

The linguistic concept of 'reference' is associated with the naming of objects in the world, and this referential function is performed by nouns, which can be replaced by pronouns. A pronoun is a primary device of coreference. Semantically, it is a 'pro-form', and sentence connection is greatly facilitated by it. The present discussion is limited to the scope of personal pronouns, since their high frequency of usage and their grammatical quality render them to the central issue of pronouns. Anaphoric relation refers to some antecedent which has already been mentioned. Cataphoric relation, on the other hand, refers to some antecedent that is to be uttered later as the following examples illustrate:

1. *The tall boy* could not catch the train, although *he* hurried all the way.
2. Although *he* hurried all the way, *the tall boy* did not catch the train.

As will be made clear, the association by Quirk et al (1985:351) of a cataphoric relation such as that expressed in (2) above, to a stylistic expression is not convincing. Empirical observation, however, confirms that cataphoric reference occurs less frequently. Anaphoric relation of this kind creates what Halliday (1985 Pt 2 Ch 9) describes cohesion. The idea expresses the linguistic continuity that exists between one part of the text and another. Anaphoric items are predominantly non-prominent in terms of phonology. A special consideration is given to pronominal anaphora or cataphora which occurs in prepositional phrases (PPs) with reference to a thematic structure and given-new information. Examples are drawn from English, but there are occasional references to the corresponding phenomena in Japanese. Finally we shall touch upon how these pronominal aspects are dealt with in school textbooks in Japan.

CHARACTERIZATION OF PREPOSITIONAL PHRASES

PPs, or circumstantials in Halliday's (1985) terminology, occur in sentence-final or sentence-initial position. Some PPs inherently originate sentence-initially. What underlies the assumption is, first of all, that sentence-initial position is the most unmarked for them, and, secondly, that they can not appear in any other places than sentence-initial position. Similar examples to those in (3) to (10) below are found in Kuno (1987:285-6).

3. To my great surprise, she refused my proposal.
4. ? She refused my proposal to my great surprise.
5. Once upon a time, there lived a tyrannic king in the country.
6. * There lived a tyrannic king in the country once upon a time.
7. As for him, he did not win their respect.
8. * He did not win their respect as for him.
9. Luckily, he passed the examination.
10. ? He passed the examination luckily.

(A question mark before sentences means that the sentences are considered awkward, and an asterisk, ungrammatical. Two underlined noun phrases mean that the sentence is considered under coreference interpretation only.)

Sentence (10) is acceptable if there is a pause before the sentential adverb *luckily*, since it is regarded as an afterthought addition (Kuno 1987:286). Nouns or noun phrases in PPs or prepositional complements, as Halliday (1985:79-81) expresses, tend to have the potential to become a subject. Critically, adverbs lack this potentiality. See the following pairs of sentences for confirmation:

11. (a) Somebody's already written on that paper.
    (b) That paper's already been written on.
12. (a) You shouldn't walk on this floor for a few days.
    (b) This floor shouldn't be walked on for a few days.

Each PP in the example sentences in (3) to (10) is sentential. They play the role of limiting the scope of discussion, marking a transition to a new stage. Quirk et al. (1985:511-12) illustrate there exists an obvious difference between the two similar PPs or adjuncts. The cited examples below convincingly show that a sentence adjunct follows a predication adjunct, or a verb-phrasal adverbial, and that the former is expected to be located further from the centre of the clause.

13. She kissed her mother on the cheek on the platform.
14. ? She kissed her mother on the platform on the cheek.
15. On the platform she kissed her mother on the cheek.
16. ? On the cheek she kissed her mother on the platform.

It can now be postulated that a sentence adjunct is more mobile and usually optional, and therefore it qualifies as a relative peripherality, and that a predication adjunct demonstrates a relative centrality. While anaphoric reference is obtained between two nouns in a clause with a preposed sentential PP, only cataphoric reference occurs between two nouns in a clause with a preposed verb-phrasal PP. Reinhart (1983:23) captures the coreferential or the disjoint-reference phenomenon of this kind on the basis of syntactic structure in terms of the constituent-command hypothesis. Quirk et al. (1985:351-2), on the other hand, maintain that cataphoric reference generally occurs only where the pronoun is at a lower level of structure on a tree diagram than its antecedent. It will be made clear that the claim is not viable, unless greater consideration is taken of pragmatic information in the analysis of pro-nominalization. Consider the following for a tentative confirmation.

17. *Bob* placed Susan's book on *his* desk.
18. On *his* desk, *Bob* placed Susan's book.
19. * On *Bob's* desk, *he* placed Susan's book.
20. *Bob* is an absolute dictator in *his* office.
21. In *Victor's* hometown, *he* is the brightest fellow.
22. In Victor's picture, a fat woman is nding a horse.
23. * In Victor's hometown, a bomb exploded yesterday.

(Examples (20) and (21) are patterned on Rinehart 1983:68, 73; for examples, (22) and (23) refer Rinehart 1983:77).

PPs occurring in (17) to (19) are verb-phrasal, where the one in (18) is fronted after pronominalization. Hence cataphoric reference, and disjoint reference, is established between the underlined items in (19). Examples (20) to (22) have a sentential PP, and the constituent-command hypothesis is defensible to the extent that both anaphoric and cataphoric reference can be allowed in case of a fronted sentential PP. The way in which preposed PPs affect syntactic transformation represents another basis of judgement on differentiation of these two PPs. An indefinite noun phrase usually carries new information and it cannot serve as a theme. A preposed sentential PP, which is thematized, can be followed by an indefinite subject, whereas an indefinite subject is awkward in sentences with preposed verb-phrasal PPs, since the subject as well as the preposed PP must be the theme in such a structure, as is exemplified in (22) and in (23).

24 a In Victor's picture of Mary, does she look her best?
b * In Victor's picture of Mary, did she find a scratch?
25 a In my next picture, look more cheerful, please!
b * In my next picture, find a scratch, if you can!

26 a According to Felix, who won the race?
b * In front of Felix, who holds a candle?

(There are models for the constructed materials of (24) and (25) in Rinehart 1983:69; (26) is quoted from Rinehart 1983:69).

The sentential PP in (24a) is outside the scope of interrogation, but the verb-phrasal PP in (24b) is within its scope. Therefore, preposing of the verb-phrasal PP blocks question formation. Similarly, fronting of the sentential PP in (25a) concurs with an imperative, whereas an imperative does not follow a verb-phrasal PP as is shown in (25b). The same assumption as in (24) holds with Wh-question formation. The corresponding linguistic phenomena are perceived in Japanese. Observe the following Japanese examples for comparison:

27. John to ieba, { kare wa / ø } Australia e itta.

where *to* = particle, *ieba* = speaking of, *kare* = he, *wa* = subjective particle, *e* = to, and *itta* = go-past.

Æ speaking of John, he went to Australia.

28. * John no pen de, { kare wa / ø } tegami o kaita.

where *no* = ...'s, *de* = with, *tegami* = letter, *o* = objective particle, and *kaita* = write-past.

* Æ With John's pen, he wrote a letter.)

The PPs in (27) and (28) occur sentence-initially, and the themes of Japanese sentences must be anaphoric as the cited example illustrates, while there is a disjoint reference between *kare* and *John* in the preposed verb-phrasal PP as sentence (28) shows. Various syntactic tests make the difference between these two types of PPs more distinct. A question with *dare* indicates that a fronted verb-phrasal PP is within the scope of questioning, but that a fronted sentential PP is not, as the following pair of the sentences certify:

29 a * Dare to ieba, John wa Australia ni ikimashita ka?
where *ni* = to, *ikimashita* = go-past, and *ka* = Q.

* Æ Speaking of whom, did John go to Australia?

b Dare no pen de, John wa tegami o kakimashita ka?
where *kakimashita* = write-past.

Æ With whose pen did John write a letter?

We can see that a noun in an initial verb-phrasal PP can be reflexivized, whereas a thematic noun can not, as the following demonstrates:

30 a * Jibun to ieba, John wa Australia e itta.
where *jibun* = reflexive.

b Jibun no pen de, John wa tegami o kaita.

INTERACTION OF THEMATIZATION WITH PRONOMINAL COREFERENCE

Given two coreferential noun phrases as clause mates, whether the second noun phrase is to be realized as a reflexive or a non-reflexive should be pragmatically controlled. It is testified below that there is a pragmatic difference between the roles that a pronoun and a reflexive play in a given PP. In (31) and (32), *John*, the referent of the prepositional object, is the direct recipient of the action represented by the rest of the verb-phrase. In other words, the subject is the target of the action of the verb-phrase. In contrast, in (33) and (34) the action represented by the verb-phrase does not have John as a target of action.

Reflexive pronouns are used in English if and only if they are the direct recipients or targets of the actions represented by the sentences (Kuno 1983:67). The examples (31) to (36) are cited from Kuno (1987:65-66).

Sentence (a) below is awkward according to Kuno (1987). Fronting *him* initially must be to give a contrastive interpretaion to it, and a pronoun is not easily stressable. A stress on *him* will make these two noun phrases noncoreferential. An intended contrastiveness should be obtained through using an emphatic reflexive as in (b) below;

(a) Near him John found a snake.

(b) Near himself John found a snake.

31 a *John* wrote to Mary about *himself*.
b * *John* wrote to Mary about *him*.
32 a *John* compared Bill with *himself*.
b * *John* compared Bill with *him*.

33 a * *John* left his family behind *himself*
b *John* left his family behind *him*.
34 a * *John* has many friends around *himself*.
b *John* has many friends around *him*.
35 a *John* pulled the blanket over *himself*.
b *John* pulled the blanket over *him*.

Both the reflexive and the non-reflexive are allowed in example (35), where (a) implies that John put the blanket over his head and covered himself with it, intending to hide under it, while (b) does not imply such direct action with the whole body of John as target.

An anaphoric item is phonologically non-prominent. The two nouns to be cited in (36) receive a disjoint reference, since the preposed PP is verb-phrasal. However, an additional information to an initial verb-phrasal PP pushes it toward a theme as exemplified in (37).

36. * In *John's* apartment, *he* smoked pot.
37. In *John's* newly renovated apartment on Fifth Avenue, *he* smoked pot (refer Rinehart 1983:80).
38. In *John's* dormitory, only *he* smoked pot.

Now we understand that lengthening of a fronted verb-phrasal PP can improve anaphoric coreference by means of according to it a thematic status or given information. In the case of (38), if *only* is deleted, the preposed PP changes its status from sentential to locative, and then the sentence is made unacceptable. The crucial point is that *only* is a focus adjunct, and the clause with *only* added is rendered new information (see Rinehart 1983:91-2; Quirk et al 1985:432-3). The item 'anyway' carries a thematic property, since it refers to the content of the previous sentence. Therefore, it cannot modify new information, or rheme. As is made clear in (39) to (41), this resumptive has the sense of "to return to the point" or of resuming the main purpose of the communication, as depicted in Halliday & Hasan (1976:265).

39. * Mary found a scratch in Bob's picture anyway.
40. In Bob's picture anyway, Mary found a scratch.
41. In Bob's picture anyway, Mary looks nice.

Theme is marked off by being spoken in a separate intonation contour. This is especially likely when theme is a prepositional phrase. Theme is what the speaker chooses to take as point of departure, and given information is what the listener already knows about. Theme-Rheme is speaker-oriented, while Given-New is listener-oriented (see Halliday 1985:278-9). It is to be noted that theme is not

always the left-most element of a sentence and that theme and rheme do not completely correspond to given and new information. A speaker tends to choose the theme from what is already given and puts the focus somewhere within the rheme as Halliday (1985:280-1) denotes:

42.

To Convey the Unmarked	To Convey the Marked
You : were to BLAME Theme : Rheme Given : New (Focus)	YOU : were to blame Theme : Rheme New : Given
It's YOU who were to blame Theme Rheme New Given	It's you who were to BLAME Theme Rheme Given New (Focus)

CONCLUSION

It has been investigated that pronominal anaphora or cataphora and coreference option of pronouns or reflexives cannot be explained solely by means of syntactical analysis of the clause structure. A forceful explanation of them need linguistic information obtained from a comparative research of various languages. In Japanese schools, students begin to study English as a foreign language at the tenth grade. Among all the textbooks approved by the Education Ministry for use we find only three cases of cataphora or backward pronominalization in the complex sentence with a main clause proceded by a when-clause (see Yoshida 1987). Japanese learners of English are first exposed to a complex sentence with a when-clause at eleventn grade. It should be noted that there exists a linguistic difference between Japanese and English such as the fact that an adverbial clause is usually placed before the main clause in Japanese. Chiba & Inada (1984) reports that there are few textbooks for first through eighth graders where backward pronominalization is described in the United States of America, and also five cataphoric cases of sentences with preposed verb-phrasal PPs are reported in eleven American school textbooks. In Japan, ten different senior high school textbooks with total pages of 1,564 include six cases of cataphora in sentences with preposed verb-phrasal PPs. They are.[21]

43 a To hide *his* real intentions, *Hamlet* pretends to be mad.
b In *his* room upstairs, *fifteen-year-old Peter* had just put his favorite record on his record player, when...
c In *his* later years, *Shakespeare* retired to Stratford, where...
d In *his* kingdom in the wilderness, *John Sutter* lived in a fort.
e With all *his* failures, *Charlie Brown* has become a big success.
f In *his* heart *every New Yorker* believes that, with a little luck, he could be rich and famous.

NOTE

1. The textbooks investigated are:
   (1) *Unicorn English Course 1* (1983)
   (2) *The Senior English-Two* (1986)
   (3) *Unicorn English Composition 11C* (1986)
   (4) *Unicorn English Course 11* (1983)
   (5) *New Creative Readers* (1985)
   (6) *High Road to English 11* (1986)
   (7) *New Crystal English Readings 11B* (1986)
   (8) *Mainstream 1* (1985)
   (9) *Mainstream 11* (1986)
   (10) *Paths to the Present* (1987)

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ON JAPANESE ONOMATOPŒIA: A FUNCTIONAL APPROACH

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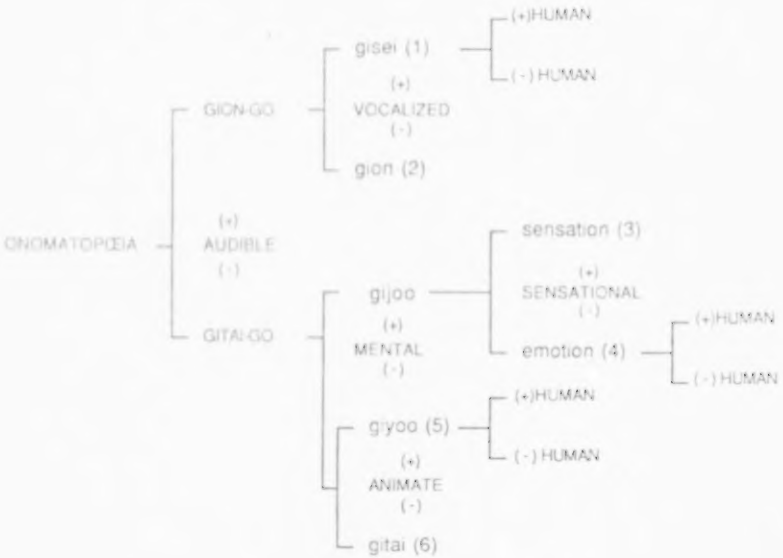
Table 1 below shows a featural classification of Japanese onomatopœic words, together with example sentences.

Table 1: Featural Classification of Japanese Onomatopœia



SEMANTIC FEATURES

(+/-) AUDIBLE	:	whether or not audible
(+/-) VOCALIZED	:	whether or not produced by living things
(+/-) MENTAL	:	whether or not related to inner feelings
(+/-) SENSATIONAL	:	whether or not descriptive of surface sensations
(+/-) ANIMATE	:	whether or not animate
(+/-) HUMAN	:	whether or not human

Examples

(1) a. Sono hanashi o kiite otoko wa *a-ha-ha* to waratta.
(The man laughed loudly at the story).

b. Soto de inu ga *wan-wan* to hoeteiru.
(There is a dog barking outside).

(2) To ga *batan* to shimatta.
(The door closed with a bang).

(3) Kinoo no kizu ga mada *zuki-zuki* itamu.
(The cut I got yesterday still stings).

(4) a. Kanojo wa itsumo *kuyo-kuyo* shiteiru.
(She is always worrying about something).

b. Uchi no neko wa kono goro *ira-ira* shiteiru.
(My cat has been looking irritated lately).

(5) a. Kare wa *ata-futa* to heya o dete itta.
(He hurried out of the room).

b. Kitsune wa atari o *kyoro-kyoro* mimawashita.
(The fox looked around inquisitvely).

(6) Tana wa hon ga *gisshiri* tsumatteiru.
(The shelves are all packed with books).

The classification given above, however, is not as straightforward as it looks, since, for one thing, some onomatopœic words cover a wide range of classifications, and, for another, the semantic continuity between them cannot always be acknowledged.

To illustrate these points, we would like to consider the onomatopœic word *goro-goro*. Examples are as follows:

(7) Neko ga *goro-goro* nodo o narashiteiru. [1,b]
(I hear a cat purring).

(8) Kaminari ga tooku de *goro-goro* natta. [2]
(Thunder rumbled in the distance).

(9) Iwa ga *goro-goro* saka o koroge ochite kita. [2]
(Boulders came rolling down the slope).

(10) Me ni gomi ga haitte *goro-goro* suru. [3]
(There is some dust in my eye irritating it).

(11) Ishi ga kawazoko ni *goro-goro* korogatteiru. [6]
(There are stones lying all about on the riverbed).

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(12) Kare gurai no gorufu-pureeyaa nara *goro-goro* iru. [6']
(Golf players of his level are a dime a dozen).

Goro-goro in examples (7), (8), and (9) is GION-GO, i.e., (+AUDIBLE), while *goro-goro* in (10), (11), and (12) is GITAI-GO, i.e., (-AUDIBLE). *Goro-goro* in (12) is marked as [6'] since it is a figurative use of [6].

The argument we would like to raise here is whether we can find any continuity of meaning between the former GION-GO group and the latter GITAI-GO group. We feel that there is indeed continuity between them in that all the expressions given above contain a rolling effect, either in sound, manner, or state. If this is not so, the GION-GO and GITAI-GO groups should be regarded as homonyms, just like *poka-poka* in examples (13) and (14) below:

(13) Kare wa *poka-poka* nagurareta.
(He was pelted by blows).
(14) Daibu *poka-poka* to atatakaku natta kita.
(It has become rather warm).

Poka-poka in (13) is GION-GO, while *poka-poka* in (14) is GITAI-GO.

We will cite another onomatopœic word, *gata-gata*, to make the point clearer.

(15) Kaze de mado-garasu ga *gata-gata* oto o tateta.
(The window panes rattled in the wind).
(16) Sono tsukue wa furukute *gata-gata* da.
(That desk is old and rickety).
(17) Fukisoku na seikatsu de watashi no kenkoo wa *gata-gata* ni natta.
(My health is damaged due to my desultory lifestyle).

As can easily be seen, *gata-gata* in (15) belongs to GION-GO, while gata-gata in (16) belongs to GITAI-GO, with a figurative usage in (17).

EXPRESSIVENESS OF JAPANESE ONOMATOPŒIA

Let us now consider the dependence relations between onomatopœic words and verbs. We think a glossematic framework will serve this purpose well.

Table 2 shows the dependence relations in glossematic terms.

Table 2: Glossematic Framework (*a* presupposes ß)

Dependence	Constellation (V/V)	Determination VÆC	Interdependence V†††ÆC
V=Variable C=Constant	*yukkuri* aruku (walk slowly)	*fura-fura* aruku (roam; stagger) *fura-fura* -suru (waver; feel dizzy) *fura-fura*-da (be tired) *nikkori* warau (smile) *nikkori* -suru (smile)	*nikkori* hohoemu (smile)

In the constellation relation, onomatopœic words enjoy relatively free combination with verbs, both terms being *variable*. The situation, therefore, resembles the relation between the verb and adverb in the English phrase "walk slowly." Examine the following examples:

(1) *yukkuri* taberu (eat)/hanasu (talk)/unten suru (drive) etc.

It is apparent that *yukkuri* can combine with various action verbs, and moreover can be replaced by other onomatopœic words describing slowness of action, such as *soro-soro*, *noro-noro*, etc., with slight differences in meaning.

In the case of interdependence, on the other hand, both terms are constants, as in:

(2) Naiteita onnanoko wa ningyoo o moratte *nikkori* hohoenda.
(The little girl stopped crying and smiled when she was given a doll).

In the example above, as we shall see later, *nikkori* is an onomatopœic word which specifies a certain manner of smiling, and it becomes virtually an independent term in combination with the verbal suffix *suru* , as in *nikkori-suru*. *Hohoemu* , on the other hand, is originally a verb meaning "smile", so when these terms are placed together, we have an interpendence relation. This type of relation, however, is very rare in Japanese, as is the constellation relation mentioned above.

The greater part of Japanese onomatopœia occurs within a determination relation, in which onomatopœic words determine the verbs following them, and the meaning of the latter is incorporated into the former. The expressiveness of Japanese onomatopœia, which is the central theme of this section, is achieved mainly through this type of word.

As is often pointed out, Japanese onomatopœic words often combine with neutral verbs, specifying particular manners of laughing, weeping, walking, etc. In the case of the verb *aruku* (to walk), we have:

(3) *tobo-tobo* aruku (plod)
toko-toko aruku (totter)
bura-bura aruku (wander about)
fura-fura aruku (wander about wearily; stagger)

Although the correspondence is not perfect, it is worth noting that onomatopœic-word + verb combinations in Japanese are often expressed in English by single verbs.

Even more notable is the fact that some of these onomatopœic words combine with the verb-suffix *suru*, forming expressions specifying manners or states, some combine with the particle *da* and the verb-suffix *ni naru*, to specify resultative states, and some both. Examples of these variant forms are given below, using the onomatope *fura-fura*.

(4) Kootsuu no hageshii tokoro o *fura-fura* aruiteite wa abunai.
(It is dangerous to walk aimlessly about where the traffic is heavy).
(5) Watashi wa *fura-fura* to nomiya ni haitta.
(Without even realizing it I wandered into a pub).
(6) Atama ga mada *fura-fura-suru*.
(I still feel dizzy).
(7) Hataraki-sugi de *fura-fura-da*.
(I am completely exhausted from overwork).

Thus, within the domain of the determination relation, we see onomatopes proceed from observable to unobservable; from physical to mental; and from progressive to resultative expressions. Moreover, the *da/ni naru* form is distinguished from other forms by a difference in the pitch pattern, as shown below:

(8) Low-High: fura-fura ⌈da　　fura-fura ⌈ni naru

High-Low: fu ⌊ra-fura aruku　　fu ⌊ra-fura-suru

As can be seen from the above, determination-type onomatopœic words are expressive and, because of this expressiveness, are often powerful and vivid enough to allow the deletion of verb-parts. This phenomenon can commonly be observed in newspaper headlines and advertisements, in which conciseness and impact are highly valued. For example:

(9) Manrui hoomaa ni tooshu wa *gakkuri*.
(The pitcher was downcast after being hit for a grand-slammer).

(10) 48-do. Hokoo-chuu *battari*.
(In the 48-degree heat, people dropped in their tracks).

(11) Takeshi *puttsun*.
(No offers for Takeshi [a popular performer]).

(12) Kami wa *tsuya-tsuya*. Ohada wa *sube-sube*.
(Your hair will be shiny, and your skin smooth).

Candidates for the deleted verb-parts are: (9) gakkuri *unadareta* (drooped); (10) battari *taoreta* (fell down); (11) puttsun *kireta* (snapped); (12) tsuya-tsuya, sube-sube *ni naru* (become).

BEYOND THE LEXICAL LEVEL

So far we have considered onomatopœia operating at the lexical level. They are not confined to that level alone, however, and in fact they play important roles at the syntactic, discourse, and stylistic levels as well. We cite a few examples below:

(1) Sora ga *sukkari* hareagatta.
(The sky has become perfectly clear).
Here, *sukkari* occurs with perfective aspect.

(2) Kanojo wa asa kara *zutto* hon o yondeiru.
(She has been reading a book without a break since this morning).
Zutto in this example relates to the progressive aspect.

(3) *Sappari* wakaranai.
(I don't understand at all).
Sappari is usually accompanied by a negative verb. The affirmative form *Sappari wakaru* is unacceptable in Japanese.

Finally, we would like to point out that, in many cases, Japanese onomatopœia corresponds to such marked constructions as inversion in English. Taking only two examples from *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland* we have:

(4) ...*down* went Alice...

This famous sentence would be best translated into Japanese as:

(4') Arisu wa *zuun* to ochite itta...

We can use the onomatopœic word *zuun* very effectively here to give the reader a sense of being with Alice as she falls.

(5) ...up I goes like a skyrocket...
(5') *Hyuun* to hanabi no yoo ni agatte yo.

Bill, the lizard, is explaining in (5) how he jumped up, and the feeling of speed is well conveyed in Japanese by the onomatopœic word *hyuun*.

Notice in English, in which word order is relatively fixed, vividness of an expression is frequently achieved by changing word order, while in Japanese, which has rather free word order, a similar effect is obtained through the use of onomatopœia.

The present paper is by no means conclusive or exhaustive. There are a number of fuzzy instances, and exceptions are not difficult to find. Nevertheless, we hope this paper has provided a general picture of Japanese onomatopœia, whose function in the language is far from being peripheral or childish, as is often naively believed. Japanese onomatopœia constitutes an important section of the language, and therefore warrants serious study.

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ENGLISH-CHINESE CODE-SWITCHING OF PRIMARY SCHOOL CHILDREN IN SINGAPORE

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A very common linguistic phenomenon in multilingual communities is code-switching, defined as the alternative use or mixing of two linguistic codes in the same discourse (Diebold 1968; Rayfield 1970; Brown & Fraser 1979). As would be expected, such a phenomenon has been observed in Singapore (Llamzon & Lee 1980; Richards 1982) where several languages are spoken in the freely mixing community (Kuo 1976).

Code-switching is of interest to scholars in various disciplines. First, to a linguist, code-switching provides data for the study of language change, the emergence of interlanguage transfer, and the genesis of pidginized or creolized language. Secondly, to a sociolinguist, the interest lies with the situations in which code-switching takes place and the social functions it performs. Thirdly, to a psycholinguist, the question centres around the cognitive base of the two codes being mixed, and the processing and storage of the information coded in two languages. Finally, for an educationist, the main concern is the pedagogical implications of code-switching for language teaching, the development of bilingual instructional materials, the evaluation of bilinguality, and the preparation of language teachers in a bilingual context.

While there is a wealth of studies of code-switching within the conceptual frameworks of linguistics, sociolinguistics, and psycholinguistics, the study of code-switching seems to have escaped educational researchers (Kachru 1978). That being the case, there is a dearth of studies on code-switching in educational context, much less on its effects, positive or otherwise, on second or foreign language learning in a school environment.

In Singapore, against a background that is linguistically very rich and varied, pupils learn two languages and use one at the same time for learning other subjects right from the early stages of their school career. Outside the school, pupils are continuously exposed to more than one language through the mass media and through interacting with peers and adults in and out of the family (Lim 1980). Under such circumstances, code-switching is inevitably a common phenomenon.

NATURE OF CODE-SWITCHING

The specific nature of code-switching is still very much unknown and remains to be explored. Nonetheless, methodological problems of language teaching in a bilingual context perhaps need to be studied for pragmatic reasons. The pedagogical need to accept code-switching as a natural phenomenon in a bilingual situation and to maximize its probable advantages for more effective and efficient teaching of second language cannot be overemphasized.

As an example, a pupil who learns English and Chinese (Mandarin) concurrently may insert a Chinese word or phrase in sentence when speaking in English and vice versa, e.g., *Today our Chinese* 老师 *(teacher) is absent.* Utterances like this one are not uncommon among school children in Singapore. Many educationally significant questions can then be asked: For what purposes do children code-switch? Should code-switching be discouraged, tolerated, or encouraged? Would code-switching facilitate or prohibit the learning of a second language? How can code-switching be promoted or prevented for instructional reasons?

Answers to these pedagogical questions obviously depend on the understanding of some fundamental questions of the extent to which two languages share linguistic elements, the extent to which ability in one language can be predicted from that in the other language, the extent to which code-switching at a lower level (semantic) can predict similar linguistic behaviours at a higher level (phrase or even discourse), and to what extent linguistic environments in the family and the school help or hinder the development of code-switching. Above all, there is the question of measurement of code-switching as a device to gauge the pupil's bilinguality.

Nevertheless, a subtle point of conceptual significance can be raised: When a pupil produces a sentence mixing two languages, is he code-switching? Not necessarily so. Take, for example, this sentence:

我们的 science teacher 很和气

(Our science teacher is very friendly).

There are three possibilities. First, the pupil knows the Chinese equivalents of the English words *Science teacher* (i.e. 科学老师). If this is the case, the pupil is code-switching, since the same concept of *Science teacher* is available to him in both languages. Secondly, the pupil may *not* know the Chinese equivalents of *Science teacher* ; that being so, he is not code-switching, strictly

speaking, but is in a sense *borrowing* from another language words which are not available to him in the language he is expressing himself in. Thirdly, the pupil is partially code-switching, as all primary pupils learning Chinese and English in Singapore can be expected to know the equivalents of *teacher* 老师 .
But, since Science has been taught by using English in all language streams, the Chinese equivalent of *Science* (科学) may not be available in many pupils' Chinese vocabulary. Thus, the pupil who has produced the above sentence may be code-switching where the word *teacher* is concerned but is merely *borrowing* the word *Science* .

The present study addresses itself mainly to the investigation of code-switching, operationally defined as the extent to which pupils learning English and Chinese concurrently can mobilize their knowledge in one language to solve problems posed in another language.

PROCEDURE

221 Primary III, IV and V pupils were involved in this study. There were 101 boys and 120 girls selected from two co-educational schools of above-average standing in both English and Chinese results in the national school leaving examination. Four tests measuring comprehension and code-switching at the word level were administered. There are 65 items in each test. The tests were developed with reference to vocabulary lists for Primary I and II in the syllabus for English as a Second Language.

The four tests all had the same content, item stems and options but with different combinations of languages, that is, English-English, Chinese-Chinese, English-Chinese, and Chinese-English. The use of the same content, item stems and options was crucial to the present study as it was meant to be a study of code-switching and not comprehension. Had different content, item stems and options been used, the results could well be confounded by extraneous factors such as the pupils' comprehension of different content, item stems and options. Pilot testing of the tests showed these to be highly reliable, with Kuder-Richardson reliabilities ranging from .88 to .92. (See Appendix for sample items).

RESULTS

The performance of the pupils in the two monolingual and two code-switch tests are shown in Table 1, in terms of means and standard deviations. It is obvious that the performance in the code-switch tests was comparable to that in the monolingual test. This suggests that while the monolingual tests set the ceiling for

the code-switch tasks, it also suggests that information coded in one language was also available in the other language when the problem was posed in the latter.

Table 1: Means and Standard Deviations

		Monolingual Tests		Code-Switch Tests	
		English-English	Chinese-Chinese	English-Chinese	Chinese-English
Boys (N=101)	Mean	41.4	43.7	43.4	44.2
	S.D.	10.6	10.3	12.2	12.8
Girls (N=121)	Mean	50.7	50.7	46.8	51.6
	S.D.	8.2	7.4	8.8	8.9
All (N=221)	Mean	46.5	47.5	45.3	46.4
	S.D.	9.4	8.8	10.5	10.8

When the tests were correlated in different combinations, moderate to very high coefficients were obtained. These are shown in Table 2 from which the following observations are made:

1. The correlation between the two monolingual tests is very high.
2. The correlation between the two code-switch tests is also very high, comparable to that for the monolingual tests.
3. There are high correlations between monlingual and code-switch tests, irrespective of language combinations. The introduction of an additional monolingual test did not increase the correlations perceivably.

Table 2: Correlation Coefficients

Test Combination	Measures*	Boys (N=101)	Girls (N=120)	All (N=221)
Monolingual tests	EE-CC	.846	.933	.897
Code-switch tests	EC-CE	.882	.917	.902
Monolingual tests and Code-switch test(s)	EC-EE	.824	.827	.827
	EC-CC	.807	.798	.799
	EC-(EE,CC)	.850	.871	.861
	CE-EE	.866	.810	.834
	CE-CC	.795	.746	.769
	CE-(EE,CC)	.890	.788	.833

* EE - English-English Test; CC - Chinese-Chinese Test;
EC - English-Chinese Test; CE - Chinese-English Test.

DISCUSSION

The relationship between L1 and L2 was much neglected by some researchers (e.g., Lewis & Miasad 1975). Other researchers reported low to moderate correlations between English and Swedish (Johnson 1973), between English and French (Swain et al. 1976), between English and Fante (Bezanson & Hawkes 1976), and between English and Spanish (Oller et al 1977). For these studies the median of L1 - L2 correlations is .68. In contrast, a very high correlation was found here between English and Chinese.

While other explanations can be advanced, the most reasonable one for the very high L1 - L2 correlation found in this study is the use of common content, item stems and options in the two monolingual tests. By comparison, the L1 and L2 tests taken by bilingual subjects in studies of bilinguality normally had different content, item stems and options; in other words, two uncorrelated tests were used, as a rule. Such an approach obivously tests something more than bilinguality.

The approach of the present study seems to have kept the *vehicle* factors of language testing constant across tests and thus reduced disturbances, resulting in a *purer* measure of child bilinguality which shows a sizeable communality between two very different languages, English and Chinese.

This suggests that similarities between (or, by extension, among) languages have been largely underestimated in the past due to instrumentation effects. Such

an assertion seems to have been further supported by the equally high correlation between the two bilingual code-switch tests as well as the sizeable correlations obtained by different combinations of monolingual and code-switch tests. Further support to this is the fact that using two monolingual tests as predictors of code-switching performance was not much better than using only one. It may be concluded that primary school children have recourse of information in one language for solving problems posed in another language, perhaps, to the extent that *that* information has been stored in both languages.

It would appear that teaching a second language to children as if it is another first language (or, ironically, the monolingual approach to bilingualism), does not capitalize on the potential benefit of code-switching. Thus, it may be suggested that second language instruction could benefit from focusing on linguistic communality through co-ordinating the syllabuses; developing instructional materials which deal with the same substantive content; encouraging code-switching as a short cut to the acquisition of word meanings; and, training language teachers who are competent in both languages they are to teach.

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APPENDIX: SAMPLE TEST ITEMS

A. ENGLISH-ENGLISH TEST

1. Kong Wah and Ali are _____. They always play together.
   (a) brothers (b) sisters (c) friends (d) relatives

B. CHINESE-CHINESE TEST

1. 光华和阿里是 _____. 他们常常在一起玩耍.
   (a) 兄弟 (b) 姐妹 (c) 朋友 (d) 亲戚

C. ENGLISH-CHINESE TEST

1. Kong Wah and Ali are _____. They always play together.
   (a) 兄弟 (b) 姐妹 (c) 朋友 (d) 亲戚

D. CHINESE-ENGLISH TEST

1. 光华和阿里是 _____. 他们常常在一起玩耍
   (a) brothers (b) sisters (c) friends (d) relatives

A COMPARATIVE DISCOURSE ANALYSIS OF ENGLISH AND JAPANESE

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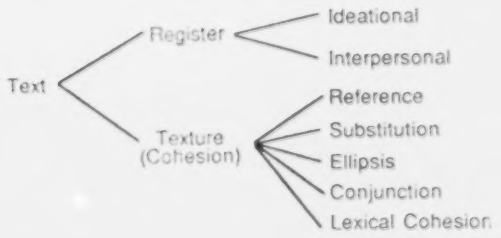
AIMS

This paper attempts to compare the English discourse features disclosed in business talk with the Japanese counterparts found in similar discourse situations. Based on Halliday and Hasan (1976), we try to determine the specific feature differences of spoken English and Japanese. In Japanese discourse, very few sentences maintain their subjects (1.4%), while in English discourse most of sentences do (74%). As far as personal references used as subjects are concerned, they are predominant subject elements in everyday English conversations (50%), while in the Japanese counterparts they are few (16.2%) (Mizutani, 1985:59-62). However these Japanese discourses can be still understood by Japanese. What kind of mechanisms are working to make up for these omissions of sentence subjects?

MODEL

As suggested above, we try to compare the discourse features of English with those of Japanese on the text analysis of Halliday and Hasan (1976). Naturally, we have to deal with the five discourse operators of Reference, Substitution, Ellipsis, Conjunction and Lexical Cohesion. These categories are combined to form some cohesiveness of a text shown in the above mentioned literature. According to Halliday and Hasan, the overall composition of text is demonstrated below in Table 1.

Table 1: Text Composition - Halliday and Hasan Model



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Register is supposed to be the set of semantic configurations, which are furthermore subdivided into Ideational (what is happening?) and Tenor (who are taking part?). The other component of text is Texture (Cohesion). This is assumed to be the set of meaning (semantic) relations. This set forms the five cohesive elements that we have already mentioned, representing how the text is constructed. We analyze the specific features of the two languages based on these five cohesive elements.

Data

Tosu (1985) used the above model of Halliday and Hasan for his pilot analysis of Urashima-Taro, the best-known Japanese folktale. He analyzed the story from a cohesive aspect of the narrative structure. The original version of this story in Japanese consists of 51 sentences, and its translated version in English contains 57 sentences. The total number of these discourse operators is 249 in Japanese, and 233 in English. Then we get Table 2 as follows:

Table 2: Presence of discourse operators in English and Japanese (*Urashima-Taro*)

	JAPANESE	ENGLISH
REFERENCE	10%	36%
SUBSTITUTION	0.4%	0.4%
ELLIPSIS	25%	0%
CONJUNCTION	8.0%	5.6%
LEXICAL COHESION	56%	58%

From this table we see that there are three things worthy of note. The first is that there is a big gap in Ellipsis between Japanese (25%) and English (0%). Japanese has much more ellipsis than English. This is closely related with what is called 'subject deletion'[1], the main topic of this paper. The second is another big difference found in Reference. Reference is much more used in English (36%) than in Japanese (10%). The third finding is that Japanese and English Lexical Cohesions reveal similar percentages, 56% and 58% respectively. However these figures are misleading, since we might guess that the apparent similarity is due to the faithful translation of Japanese into English. From these observations it seems that the Reference or the Ellipsis of Japanese and English serves to keep the discourse of each language cohesive in its own way.

We examine another example of English or Japanese discourse. For the English discourse we use discourses in *The White House Transcripts* in which President Nixon and his staff were seriously discussing how to deal with the Watergate scandal. We use four different occasions: March 22, April 17, April 17 (a different time) and April 19 in 1973, analyzing the first hundred sentences of each occasion. For the Japanese discourse we use the transcriptions of four discussion meetings where linguists or language teachers were talking about various topics concerning language. Each discussion meeting has five participants, talking about *Loan words, Features of Japanese, How to create beautiful mellow expressions in Japanese* and *Greetings and their verbal expressions*. We again analyze the first hundred sentences of these discussion meetings and try to reveal how the five discourse operators are used in their discourses. Results are shown in Table 3 below :

Table 3: Presence of discourse operators in English and Japanese discussions.

	ENGLISH	JAPANESE
REFERENCE	75%	21%
SUBSTITUTION	1.0%	1.6%
ELLIPSIS	1.6%	14%
CONJUNCTION	22%	45%
LEXICAL COHESION	0.6%	18%
	1,150	1,073

From this table we notice that there are four areas of the five discourse operators which display a big difference between English and Japanese. The biggest gap between the two languages is Reference, 75% in English vs 21% in Japanese. Most of the English References are personal references such as *I, you, he, she, my, your,...* The rate of occurrence of these personal references in the total references of English is 69%, while that of Japanese is only 0.9%. The second biggest gap is Conjunction, with the clear contrast of 22% in English and 45% in Japanese. Here we are dealing with inter-sentence conjunctions, not intra-sentences ones found in complex sentences. The third one is Lexical Cohesion, and the last one is Ellipsis. For these reasons we might convincingly say that the

typical feature of Japanese is that it is very lacking in personal references or personal pronouns used as subjects. The purpose of this paper is to discover what kind of mechanisms are working to make up for these deletions of personal references which are supposed to function as sentence subjects. Besides the big difference of References beween English and Japanese, Japanese has another disadvantage in specifying subjects: Japanese has much more deletion of subjects. We don't expect conjunctions to make up for the deletion of subjects, since the functions of conjunctions and personal references used as subjects are quite different. So we have to seek quite a new hidden mechanism to cover the loss of personal references in Japanese. We assume that a particular group of main verbs usually followed by modal auxiliaries, and sentence-end particles are working very effectively to indicate who or what is predicated.

Politeness

This particular group of main verbs share a common semantic feature. They are carrying some interpersonal nuance of being polite on the part of the speaker (first person) towards the hearer(s) (second) or third person. We tentatively call them Politeness. These polite main verbs are supported by the other two elements. Under the cover-term of Politeness we assume three kinds of Politeness; P_1 (main verbs, Lexical Politeness), P_2 (modal auxiliaries, Modal Politeness) and P_3 (sentence-end particles, Particle Politeness). Table 4 shows the possible sequences of these three types of Politeness:

Table 4: Possible Politeness Sequences

P		
P_1	P_2	P_3
P_1	P_2	P_3
$P_1 + P_2$	$P_2 + P_3$	
$P_1 + P_2 + P_3$		

However a mechanical combination of, say, $P_1 + P_2$ sometimes phonologically produces an unnatural sound sequence. For example itadaku (P_1) + masu (P_2) *itadaku-masu. It should be phonologically modified into itadaki-

masu. What kind of morphophonemic rules are working here is another serious topic worthy of serious investigation.

Typical instances of Politeness are shown in Table 5:

Table 5: Typical Instances of Politeness

P_1(91)		P_2(278)		P_3
omou(1) (think)	47.2%	desu (be)	47.4%	ga
itadaku (2 or 3) (ask NP with respect to do)	12.0%	masu (do)	22.6%	yo yo yo +ne
ossharu (2 or 3) (say)	8.7%	desho (maybe)	13.3%	
kigasuru (1) (sense)	6.5%	janai (be not)	8.2%	ka ka
kanjiru (1) (feel)	5.4%	masen (do not)	2.5%	ka + ne ka + na
ukagau (1) (ask)	4.3%	tai (wish)	2.5%	
miru (1) (try to do)	3.2%	tara (if I could)	1.7%	ne ne
nasaru (2 or 3) (condescend to do)	3.2%			mono + ne kara + ne

Notes

1 = First person; 2 = Second Person; 3 = Third person;

ga = showing a hearer that the speaker is not willing to state explicitly;

yo = advising or convincing a hearer that the speaker is right;

ka = guessing or wondering;*ne* = seeking an agreement or response.

From Tables 4 and 5, we can see that many possible combinations of the three P's are expected. Among the possible combinations of P_1, it seems that there is a sort of hierarchy in terms of degree of politeness[2]: $P_1 < P_1 + P_2 < P_1 + P_2 + P_3$

In other words, it seems to us that the sequence of P_1 + P_2 + P_3 indicates more politeness on the part of a speaker.

The very significant thing of the Politeness is a specifying property of P_1. It indicates who or what is predicated. We are convinced that this serves greatly to reduce the personal references or subject personal pronouns found in Japanese discourses. For these reasons, we can modify the framework of Table 3 by adding another element, *Politeness*[3] to the five established discourse operators. This greatly changes the proportional rates of each discourse operator. Under the new category of P, we include all the occurrences of the three types of P and all these combinations.

Table 6: Modified framework for discourse operators in Japanese

	JAPANESE
REFERENCE	15%
SUBSTITUTION	1.2%
ELLIPSIS	11%
CONJUNCTION	33%
LEXICAL	13%
POLITENESS	26%

Examples

At museum a father might say to his children:

(1) Kore-wa shiro-nagasu kujira *da*.

Its counterpart of English is:

(2) This is a blue whale.

Sentence (2) might be uttered to any person, adults as well as children. However it is not true with Japanese. We have to use a polite form when we say it to adults:

(3) Kore-wa shiro-nagasu kujira *desu*.

A more polite form might be:

(4) I think that this is a blue whale.

(5) *Watakushi-wa* kore-wa shiro-nagasu kujura to *omoi* (P_1) + *masu* (P_2).

However actually we don't say sentence (5), instead we say (6):

(6) Kore-wa shiro-nagasu kujira to *omoi masu*.

Watakushi-wa of (5), the subject of the embedding clause, can be deleted since we can easily reproduce this phrase because of *omoi-masu* which implies that the

subject of this verb should be a speaker, first person. For this reason there is no Japanese counterpart of the English sentence (7):

(7) You think that this is a blue whale.

(8) **Anata-wa* kore-wa shiro-nagasu kujira to *omoi masu.*

The predicate verb *omoi masu* cannot occur with the second person *anata-wa*. Instead we say (9):

(9) Anata-wa kore-wa shiro-nagasu kujira to *omou* (P_1) + *desho*[4] (P_2).

Besides *omou*, the first person subject claiming verbs are *kigasuru, kanjiru, ukagau, miru* which are listed in Table (5). On the contrary *itadaku, ossharu* and *nasaru* presuppose the second or third person subject. We give one more example by way of illustration:

(10) The teacher said that this was a good book.

(11) *Sensei-wa* kore-wa yoi hon desu to *osshatta.*

The verb *osshatta* presupposes the second or third person subject. You might delete it when you say this in the classroom. Other students might easily guess who said that. Then we get the following sentence.

(12) Kore-wa yoi hon desu to *osshatta.*

From these observations it can be seen that P_2 serves to support the P_1's function of expressing politeness. However the function of P_3 seems to make our statements less straightforward or less affirmative. In other words, these expressions lead us to be fuzzy in statements. This comes from a time-honoured tradition, that is to say, our usual tendency to avoid assuming a superior status in interpersonal relationship over hearers by pretending to be unconvincing in our statements.

CONCLUSION

We have tried to reveal what kind of mechanisms are working in Japanese to make up for the omissions of sentence subjects. We have noticed that there are very few personal references or pronouns at the subject position in Japanese. Then we have assumed that one of the mechanisms[5] must be an element called Politeness. The Politeness is usually carried by a particular group of main verbs. These main verbs are specific in indicating who or what is predicated. For this reason, pronouns + *wa*, a typical possible instance of sentence subject in Japanese, do not appear in Japanese.

Notes

1. The term subject deletion must be used carefully. Japanese sentences usually begin with NP-*ga* (new information) or NP-*wa* (old information). Unfortunately we tend to regard these types of NP merely as a subject. However this is not actually the case. The deleted subject is usually an NP-*wa* type which has already established the status of becoming a theme.
2. The politeness hierarchy can be observed in Indonesian, too. This comment was given to me by Ms. Wendy Solomon at AILA Congress on August 17th, 1987.
3. Politeness is basically a category which belongs to Interpersonal domain. However this new element comes out in connection with discourse ellipsis, which is a member of Texture (Cohesion).
4. The modal P *desho* means guessing on the part of the speaker.
5. Another possible mechanism to make up for ellipsis might be conjunctions. On inter-sentence conjunction level, Japanese has much more in terms of number and variety. Japanese has a very strong tendency to form a sort of participle construction sentence rather than a complex sentence frequently used in English, which results in another source of great reduction of embedded sentence subjects.

Data - English

Gold,G.(ed.) (1974) *The White House Transcripts*, Bantam Books.

(1) pp.194-198 March 22, 1973 1:57 p.m.
Planning for the Senate Hearings
The President, Haldeman, Ehrlichman, Dean and Mitchell.

(2) pp.696-699 April 17,1973 3:50 p.m.
A White House statement on Watergate receives the finishing embellishments.
The President, Haldeman, Ziegler and Ehrlichman.

(3) pp.709-712 April 17,1973 5:20 p.m.
The President reluctantly agrees that Haldeman and Ehrlichman must go.
The President, Rogers, Haldeman and Ehrlichman.

(4) pp.745-749 April 19,1973 8:26 p.m.
Lawyers for Haldeman and Ehrlichman discuss the case with the President.
The President, Wilson and Strickler.

Data - Japanese

1976 Kotoba series 4 *Loan Words* Bunka-cho
1979 Kotoba series 10 *Features of Japanese* Bunka-cho
1980 Kotoba series 12 *The Spoken Language* Bunka-cho
1981 Kotoba series 14 *Greetings and their Expressions* Bunka-cho

(1) pp. 2-5 Talks about loan words
E. Iwabuchi, T. Ishiwata, A. Totsuka, S. Toyama and S. Murao.

(2) pp. 6-11 Talks about features of Japanese.
T. Suzuki, M. Hayashi, S. Hayashi, K. Murasaki, R. Domenico.

(3) pp. 9-14 How can we create beautiful mellow expressions in Japan?
S. Kawamoto, G. Kurono, A. Terashima, M. Hayashi and O. Mizutani.

(4) pp. 8-14 Talks about greetings and their verbal expressions.
M. Okuyama, N. Komoto, A. Sakakura, J. Haga and M. Hayashi.

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ON THE ACQUISITIONAL STRATEGIES OF COMPLEX SENTENCE FORMATION: EXAMPLES FROM JAPANESE AND ENGLISH SPEAKING CHILDREN

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INTRODUCTION

Since the pioneering works of Clark (1970, 1973) and Liber (1973), much attention has been paid to the acquisition of complex sentences. A considerable amount of research has been conducted concerning child comprehension of complex sentences (Emerson 1979; Abrahamsen 1984), but not much relating to children's production abilities, especially in natural settings. One of the few comprehensive pieces of research on the acquisition of complex sentences is that of Bloom et al. (1980). What is noteworthy in their investigation is their insight into semantic relations between connected clauses. However, they did not discuss the strategies children employ in acquiring complex sentence structures.

This paper is an attempt to delve into this area of the acquisitional strategies of adverbial subordinate constructions and to look at some of the characteristics of the acquisition of subordinate conjunctions by Japanese children. Neurological, cognitive and pragmatic viewpoints will be taken into consideration.

SOURCES OF DATA

The data for this study is from a longitudinal analysis of the communicative behaviours of three Japanese sisters, collected in the form of diaries and tapes. Additional data comes from the diary records of children's speech behaviours published in various books (Fujiwara 1977; Noji 1974-1977; Okubo 1967).

FOUR DEVELOPMENTAL STAGES

Stage 1. Two semantically related sentences are placed in parallel.

1. S(23): Obenkyo yatte ne. Ato sampo ikoo ne.
study do S.P. later walk let's go S.P.
(Do your study first. Let's go for a walk later).

2. S(23): Akachan naku. Kaachan ombu che.
baby cry mommy carry on the back do
(The baby is crying. Mommy, you carry him on your back).
*(23)= 23 months old. S.P. = sentence particle.

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The children uttered these sentences in succession but had not yet acquired any connectives which would allow them to combine simple sentences into complex sentences.

Stage 2. Word(s) or clause + connectives.

Children utter a subordinate clause only, mainly in response to a question, request or command.

3. Mother: Hai, kore agemashoo.
here this give you
(I will give you this).

M.(23): Sunde kara.
finish after
(After I have finished).

Children are said to be sensitive to situational contexts and so their utterances are context-dependent. It was Brown (1973) who pointed out the importance of what he called "rich interpretation" in the investigation of children's acquisition of grammatical competence, especially in the early stage. We must extend Brown's asertion and say that children are also sensitive to 'discourse contexts'.

In this connection, Bates and Macwhinney's functional approach to the acquisition of grammar is most attractive.

"Grammatical structure cannot be understood outside a semantic-pragmatic framework. To investigate the process by which children acquire grammar, we need much more information about speech act patterns, discourse structure, lexical semantics, case roles, and sentence processing strategies." (Bates & Macwhinney 1979).

It was Greenfield (1979) who applied this functional and pragmatic approach to the acquisition of single-word utterances. Answering the adult's question:

"What do you want?"

an 18 month old boy said,

"Show(v)el."

Greenfield claimed that the working principle here is

"Express the single most informative element."

I would claim that this same principle can be extended to the child's use of single clauses in an adult-child dialogue. Bloom et al. (1980) point out this strategy when they say:

"When the two parts of the semantic relation before and after the connective occurred across two or more different speaker turns, the cohesion was either Adult-Child or Adult-Child-Adult,

3.e.g. Adult: Maybe he'll ride the horse.
Child: Yeah, when he comes in." (Bloom et al 1980)

The strategy of using a single clause in the initial stage is further noted by Clancy (1985) with regard to Japanese. She states,

"'Kara' typically appears on single clauses before being acquired as a conjunction between clauses."

The example she gave was a sentence produced by a 25 month old boy who accidentally tore a page in his sister's book,

4. Hatte age- ru kara, mama.
paste give NONPAST because mama
(Because I'll paste it for her, mama).

According to Clancy, Aksu (1985) has found that causal connectives in Turkish emerged in response to adult's questions before appearing in conjoined sentences. I agree with Clancy when she maintains,

"...the course of acquisition of 'kara' in Japanese suggests that it is easiest for the child to link a proposition to the nonverbal context, somewhat harder to conjoin a proposition to a prior utterance, and most difficult to produce both clauses of a conjoined sentence without contextual support."

I have discovered the use of other adverbial conjunctions on single clauses, such as 'noni' meaning '(even) though' or 'toki' meaning 'when'. I suspect that the use of a single clause subordinate structure is a general strategy children use in the acquisition of complex sentences with adverbial subordinate clauses.

5. Y(30): Omiokuri shiyoo to omotta noni,
see off be going to COMP thought even though
(Even though I was thinking of seeing you off).

6. S(29): Naita toki?
cried when
(When I cried?)

Stage 3. One of the clauses is grammatically incomplete.

Before the formation of a full two clause structure, there seems to be an intermediate stage where one clause is fully developed, while the other remains incomplete. This may result from 'memory limitation' or what Bellugi (1971) calls 'performance limit' on the part of children.

7. *Gohan toki, taberun yo.
meal when eat S.P.
(You eat it when you have a meal). (*...ungrammatical)

'Toki' literally means 'time' and is used as a noun before being used as a conjunction. In full form, 'no' is added after nominal expressions, which are placed before 'toki', to make temporal adverbial phrases like,

8. Gohan no toki

9. Odekake no toki
outing of time
(at the time of outing)

The next example uttered by a 37 month old boy is an example of over-extension.

10. *Yurichan America no toki, baby-chan datta ne.
Yurichan America of time baby was S.P.
(At the time of America, Yurichan was still a baby).

In the above sentence, 'no' should be changed to the verb phrase 'ni ita' (was staying in), because 'toki' can be used only as an adverbial conjunction.

Now look at the following sentence:

11. N (23): *Tsumetai da kara, surippa.
cold is because slipper
(Give me slippers because it is cold).

The copula 'da' should be deleted to make the above sentence grammatical.

Fletcher (1985) also noted children's tendency to fail to completely learn complex sentences and cited the following example sentence.

12. Sophie (41): *He didn't go to school, cos his half term.

In reference to the above sentence, Fletcher said as follows:

"Sophie omits the subject and verb from the *cos* sequence, so strictly speaking this is not a complex sentence, but both the connective and the reason proffered for Sammy's absence from school suggest that we should consider the construction as a possible causal adverbial."

Fletcher gives an additional example of misuse.

13. Sophie(41): *When
*While
her at school, I can buy some sweets.

Stage 4. In the initial stage of complex sentence formation, the order 'Main Clause + Subordinate Clause' is predominant.

In this stage which overlaps in part with the third, the ordering of the two clauses becomes a problem. Though the favorite Japanese pattern is a subordinate clause in the initial position, children tend to put a main clause in the initial position at the beginning stage of acquisition of adverbial conjunctions like 'toki', 'kara' and 'kedo' (though). In the case of one boy, age 28 months, main clause first order was 45%, while subordinate first order was 55%. One month later, however, the ratio was 25% for main clause first order and 75% for subordinate clause first order.

Why is it that the subordinate in the second position is so dominant at an early age? Clark (1973) said that the conjunctions 'when' and 'because' first appeared introducing subordinate clauses in second position, which is gradually shifted to the front. Extending Gruber's 'Topic-Comment' structure, Clark characterizes the basic structure of a sentence as consisting of a 'theme' and 'rheme'. She goes on to say,

"...the children recognize the initial position as the theme of the utterance and that the choice of the theme basically makes the speaker use one structure rather than the other."

This pragmatic principle seems to apply to the case of Japanese children taking the subordinate clause-second-position construction in many cases before taking the subordinate clause-first-position construction. This phenomenon can be compared to Gruber's hypothesis that children first take a universal topic-comment construction before taking a language specific subject-predicate construction.

14. Father: Oshiri pin?
buttock hit
(You want a spank?)

M(23): Iyayo, moo yameru kara.
no now stop because
(No, because I'll stop now).

It is to be noted, incidentally, that the negative morpheme 'iya' which expresses 'rejection' has high probability of co-occurrence, possibly because 'iya' which appears at the initial stage of negation is emotional in nature (Ito 1981) and so is 'kara' in this context which expresses the child's egocentricity and self-assertion.

The above example shows that children chose 'rejection' as the 'theme', hence the subordinate clause which is the 'rheme' comes in the second position.

CHARACTERISTICS AND ACQUISITIONAL ORDERS OF SUBORDINATE CONSTRUCTION

First, let us take up 'kara' and 'noni'. 'Kara' was first used by a 23 month old, while 'noni' first appeared at 26 months. Though the time of their appearance is different, they seem to share some similarities.

These two conjunctions occur most frequently in single clauses. Of all the 'noni' sentences children aged 29 to 51 months uttered, 85% were in single clause sentences. As was pointed out above, most children used 'kara' in single clause sentences before the age of 29 months. One possible reason for this is that parents frequently use these conjunctions to scold or admonish children.

For example,

15. Yuu koto kika nain da kara.
say what listen no be because
(Because you don't listen to what I say).

Children know by hearing this single clause utterance that the clause 'you are a bad boy or girl'. is understood. Clancy (1985) characterizes Japanese language as a language of extensive ellipsis and says as follows,

"the missing constituent is presumably one which the speaker thinks the listener will be able to supply on the basis of background knowledge, the nonlinguistic context, or the preceding conversation, that is, it constitutes 'old information'."

Children easily assimilate the directive use of the conjunctions 'kara' and 'noni', because they are emotional in nature and they use those conjunctions to express 'protest'.

16. T(36): Abunai kara!
dangerous because
(because it's dangerous!)

17. S(40): Tabyoo to omotta noni!
eat COMP thought though
(Though I was just going to eat!)

These kinds of single clause utterances are fondly used by children to show their 'unwillingness' or 'protest'.

Interestingly enough, children mistakenly use 'noni' and 'kara' in the same utterances to make their protest stronger.

18. S(37): Sakkaku bus ga kita noni kara!
long-awaited bus subj. marker came
(Though because the long-awaited bus has come!)

The use of the two conjunctions in the same sentence seems to suggest their functional similarity.

According to Tokizane (1962), it was the 19th Century British neurologist J.H. Jackson who claimed that emotional aspects of language emerge earlier than rational or intellectual ones. Witelson (1977) hypothesizes that the right hemisphere which is responsible for emotional processes is more active in the early ages before five. If these hypotheses are plausible, then the children's fond use of emotionally loaded single clause utterances with connective 'noni' and 'kara' may possibly be related to the brain's developmental sequence.

Next, let me point to some distinctions between the conjunctions 'kara' and 'tara'. A striking feature is the predominant use of 'tara' and 'kara' between ages 2 and 3 (Okubo 1984). This coincides with Clark's finding that:

"the first of the main subordinate conjunctions to appear in children's protocols were 'when' and 'because'" (Clark 1970).

But why might 'tara' (when) and 'kara' (because) be used so frequently between these ages?

One of the main reasons may be that both are "general terms", covering wide ranges of meanings. 'Kara' is not only used as a conjunction but also as a postpositional particle corresponding semantically to the English preposition 'from'.

Table 1: Frequency of Use of 'kara' by S from 29 to 30 months

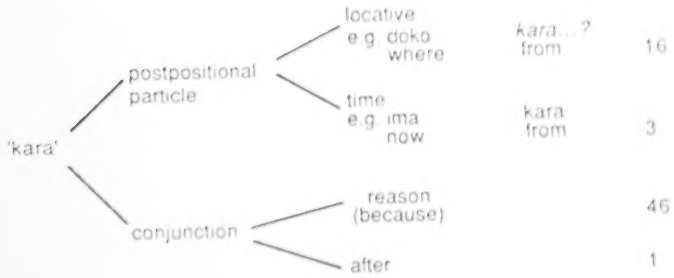

Table 2: Frequency of Use of 'tara' by S from 29-30 and 40-41 months

	29-30 months	40-41 months
at the same time as (when) (simultaneity)	36	15
after the time at which	0	7
conditional	10	10
subjunctive	0	9

'Tara' on the other hand has four semantic categories.

At the age of 29 to 30 months, 'tara' was used most often as expressing 'simultaneity'. 'Conditional' comes next. No use of 'after the time at which' and 'subjunctive was found at this stage. About a year later, i.e. at the age of 40 to 41

months, however, a great change was noticed. This is most likely the result of cognitive development during this period.

It may safely be said that the subjunctive use of 'tara' emerges at around the middle of age three, because three children made frequent use of subjunctive sentences with 'tara' at this age. It is a well-known fact that children at a certain age seem to enjoy asking questions like 'what is this?' or 'why is that?'. In similar fashion, children at this period seem to find a joy in asking questions ending with subjunctive 'tara'.

19.	M(41):	Watashi	ga	Yurichan	ni	nat	tara?	
		I	subject	marker	to	become	if	
		(Suppose I became as old as Yurichan?)						

ACQUISITION OF COGNITIVELY ADVANCED CONJUNCTIONS

It can be said from my data that the time for proliferation of cognitively advanced conjunctions like subjunctive and adversatives is around the middle of age three. This finding is consistent with that of Bloom et al. (1980). The subjunctive was first expressed by the general term 'tara', and then began to be expressed more specifically by other terms like 'ba' or 'to'.

20.	M(40):	Kore	mo	zembu	kae	ba	yokat	ta	jan.
		this	also	all	buy	if	better	past	S.P.
		(It would be better if you had bought all including this).							

21.	S(41):	Anman	se	ga	takai	to	abunai	yo.
		too	height	subject marker	tall	if	dangerous	S.P.
		(It would be dangerous if you were so tall).						

As to the acquisition of adversatives, Clancy (1985) in her study of the acquisition of Japanese up to the age three could not find the use of adversatives. But in my data, the adversative connective 'kedo' appeared toward the end of the second year.

22.	M(34):	Moo	kobore	sooku	nai	ne,	sakki		kobore
		no longer	spill	likely	no	S.P.	a while ago		spill
		soo	dat	ta	kedo.				
		likely	be	past	though				
		(It's no longer likely to spill, though it was a while ago).							

another adversative conjunction 'noni', which is more colloquial or conversational in use, appeared earlier at 26 months in single clause sentences, as we have seen above.

Time adverbial conjunctions become more elaborate after age three. 'Nagara' which is semantically equivalent to 'as' or 'while', and 'mae ni' meaning 'before', and 'ato' meaning 'after' began to be used at this period.

23. S(41): Boku kaki nagara utaiyoru yo
I write as(while) singing S.P.
(I'm singing as I am writing).

24. (Y(48): Naochan yoochien itta maeni warabi tot ta.
kindergarten went before bracken pick past
(Naochan picked bracken before I went to the kindergarten)

In the example sentence (24), 'itta' before 'mae ni' is ungrammatical. It should be changed to the present tense form 'iku' (go). This tense adjustment has not been acquired. The following table shows the first appearance of adverbial conjunctions studied here.

Table 3: List of Japanese Adverbial Conjunctions and their Emergence (months)

$kara_1$ (because)	23	kedo (though)	32
$kara_2$ (after)	30	ba (if)	40
$tara_1$ (at the same time as)	26	to (if)	41
$tara_2$ (in case)	29	nagara (as, while)	41
$tara_3$ (after)	39	ato (after)	46
$tara_4$ (if)	40	maeni (before)	48
noni (even though)	26		

CONCLUSION

In this paper I have discussed the psycholinguistic strategies children use to acquire complex sentences. I have hypothesized four stages children go through to arrive at the full structure of complex sentences. By making full use of their sensitivity to situational and discourse contexts, they first resort to the single clause strategy in order to make up for their neuropsychological incompetency. Before acquiring full two clause structure, children go through an intermediate stage in

which one clause is still incomplete, lacking verbs, particles or tense adjustment. As to the ordering of clauses, children tend to first employ pragmatic criteria, placing subordinate constructions in second position.

Concerning the nature and characteristics of subordinate conjunctions, I appealed to the neurological development of affectivity for the early acquisition of 'kara' and 'noni'. The early development of the causal connective 'kara', compared to the acquisition of the English counterpart 'because', could be attributed to the relative shortness of Japanese uterances due to the extensive deletions of subjects, particles and others. This imposes less psycholinguistic burden on the memory and consequently, the linguistic processing of children. Unlike the 'because' clause which has to occur as a response to 'why' qeustion or as a part of a two clause sentence, 'kara' can occur in a single clause sentence which can stand alone as an independent utterance. In this regard, the following remark by Slobin is worthy of attention:

"The lag between the first attempt to express a meaning and the acquisition of the relevant linguistic forms should vary from language to language, determined by the psycholinguistic complexity of the formal means used by a particular language to express the intention under consideration." (Slobin 1973)

We have probed how Japanese children acquire complex sentences, based mainly on developmental errors which reveal step-by-step progress to full structures. More longitudinal cross-linguistic study of the developmental processes of complex sentence formation is needed to unravel language particulars and universals of acquisitional orders of conjunctions and acquisitional strategies of complex sentence formation.

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